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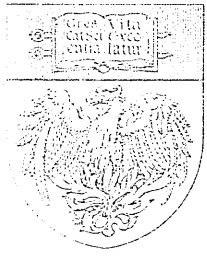

THE ROMAN CHURCH AND THE MODERN MAN

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by

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TO

THE HALLOWED MEMORY OF

THREE FRIENDS

WILLIAM EDWARD ADDIS

ALFRED FAWKES

ARTHUR WOLLASTON HUTTON

ACCOMPLISHED SCHOLARS AND DISTINGUISHED WRITERS, FOR MANY YEARS PRIESTS IN THE CHURCH OF ROME, BUT LATER DEVOTED MEMBERS OF THE SACRED MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

I DEDICATE THIS BOOK

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CHAPTER I

A GENERAL SURVEY

FOR many years past I have been convinced of three things: (1) My first conviction is that religion is immortal. The sciences of Anthropology, Comparative Religion and Psychology affirm the truth of Auguste Sabatier's dictum that:—

"Mankind is incurably religious."

It is the tragedy of the secularist propagandist that he is blind to this fact, and that, however great his success in the earlier stages of his campaign, the swing of the pendulum, usually within three generations, nullifies his efforts. The irreligionist fails, in common with all the irrationalists and immoralists, to perceive that humanity

as a race can no more decide permanently to be non-religious than to be non-rational or non-moral. The choice for the race, or for a particular civilization, is not: Will you have religion or will you not have religion? but, What kind of religion will you have?

(2) My second conviction is that religion is a necessity if either the highest possible personal life or the highest possible civilization is to be achieved. This truth is often not realized, because much too narrow a view is taken of what constitutes religion and of its many-sided relations to life. But a course of reading, such as is furnished by William Robertson Smith, Sir James Frazer, R. R. Marrett, William James, J. H. Leuba, A. S. Pringle-Patterson, Rudolf Otto, Henri Bergson, and a host of other modern writers, indicates how protean religion is, and in what an infinite number of ways it enters into, and moulds life. The most influential of human person-

alities have been the founders of mankind's religions : every civilization can be expressed in terms of its religious faith. The inspiration of supreme art and literature is religious.

(3) My third conviction follows inevitably. The time and thought and moral energy devoted to getting our religion properly based in its relation to life are well spent. Without such effort our personal character will be stunted, and our culture and our civilization will be superficial and short-lived.

Impelled by these convictions, I have ventured to add one more book—a very little one—to a theme which, although always old, is ever new, because Civilization, like man, never continueth in one stay, and the religious problem which seems so adequately and perhaps comfortably settled for one age is not thereby settled for the next.

Having stressed the religious aim of this book, I find it is necessary at the

outset to indicate its scope and limits. Much as I might wish it, I am not able to deal here with the important issue of Religion *versus* Secularism. I assume at the outset that religion is capable of contributing elements of immense value to human progress and culture. Rightly viewed, the positive contribution of Secularism is the high value which it places upon Rationalism.

I do not deny that Rationalism, like Religion, is also capable of contributing elements of great value to human progress and culture. Both the religious spirit and the rational spirit are needful for an ideal civilization and an ideal personal life, and so both should co-operate for human welfare.

The fight between Secularism and Religion is a fight in the dark. In the great majority of cases it is not really a fight between Secularism and Religion, but a fight between Rationalism and Superstition, or a fight between the science and

religion of the present, *versus* the science and religion of the past.

Again, limitations of space compel me to assume that, of all religions, the Christian Religion is the best: it is the highest product of religious evolution. Modern study compels us to recognize that the Christian Religion is not static, for it is, in Auguste Sabatier's phrase, "the religion of the Spirit." Its evolution is still proceeding. What it promises to be, when its becoming is completed inspires faith in it to-day in the minds of many, rather than what it has already accomplished, although that is not inconsiderable. Possessed of the power of development, adaptation, expansion, it promises to become the Religion of Mankind.

But to-day Christianity is in the throes. Whether these throes be the throes of dissolution or whether they be the throes of a new birth, is not clear except to the prophets. No doubt Christianity has

been in the throes before. Heine witnessed such throes and, true to the tradition of Voltaire, believed that he was witnessing the dissolution of Christianity.

> "Those who have read Heine's *Deutschland* will remember his account, scintillating with the flashes of his wonderful literary genius, of Immanuel Kant, whom he represented as the Robespierre of an intellectual revolution far more wide-reaching in its effects than the French Revolution. The victim of this revolution was pictured as no mere earthly king, but the God of Hebrew and Christian tradition. 'I can hear the bell. Kneel down. They are bringing the sacraments to a dying God.'"[1]

Professor J. S. Haldane, from whose illuminating volume I cite this quotation, interprets the signs of the times in a very different manner. For him they point to the dissolution of Materialism and the re-birth of Religion.

> "It was the God of Materialism, and not of Christianity, that was dying" (p. 130).

[1] *Mechanism Life and Personality*, by J. S. Haldane (John Murray), p. 129.

But what kind of Christianity ? Is it the re-birth of the Christian Religion in its traditional form, particularly in its most traditional form, Roman Catholicism ? Or is it the re-birth of the Spirit of Christ incarnated in new thought forms shaped by our modern knowledge of the Universe and our insistent modern needs ?

When we survey existing Christianity, we see it is of various kinds. There is the Church of Rome, which is much the largest Christian denomination ; then there are the Russian and Eastern Orthodox Churches : then there are the great Reformed Churches (Anglican, Lutheran, Continental Calvinist, Scottish Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist) ; then there are the extreme Christian radicals (the Quakers, the Unitarians, and the Christian Scientists). Is it possible that any one of these, in its present form, will survive into the distant future and become the Religion of Mankind or the Universal (Catholic) Church of Christ ?

There are probably few of the more cultured members of the Reformed Churches who cherish any conviction that the Christian denomination to which they belong will become the Universal Church. It is very doubtful if, in the light of recent experience, the more intelligent members of the Orthodox Churches have any such conviction. There is, however, one Christian Church which its members, the most cultured and the least cultured, the intelligentsia and the charcoal-burners, are convinced will become the Church of Mankind ; and that Church is the Church of Rome. So impressive is this conviction, that to-day many from other Christian denominations are entering the Church of Rome because they believe that the future of the Christian Religion lies with her.

This brings me to the crucial issue discussed in this book, and that is, whether these people are not mistaken in their conviction. The writer is convinced that

the future of the Christian Religion, as the Religion of Mankind, cannot lie with the Church of Rome, unless the Church of Rome should jettison certain of her most treasured convictions and should thereby cease to be papalist and mediævalist.

The treatment of my theme is of necessity in some measure controversial, and, without shedding crocodile's tears, I confess that I regret that this should be so.

A majestic figure in the early Church, St. Ambrose of Milan, who feared not to rebuke the Emperor Theodosius the Great at the height of his power, asserts very truly that

> "It has not pleased God to give His people salvation by means of controversy."

Every religious controversialist needs to remember this. On the other hand, no student of those Gospels which narrate the Mission of Jesus Christ can fail to

see that He was compelled to make use of controversy in the presentation of His Gospel, and His followers need to use controversy to protect that Gospel against perversion and corruption. As moral and rational beings, where great truths are in danger we may not refrain from their controversial defence, *e.g.* St. Paul spent two years " disputing daily in the school of one Tyrannus " at Ephesus (*Acts* xix. 9). It might well be easier to be quiet, and it might seem to some who do not understand the nature of charity to regard it as more charitable to be quiet. On the other hand, by such silence we might sacrifice much, or allow much to be sacrified, which for the good of humanity should be preserved and propagated.

It was this consideration which impelled to controversy the most admirable of our English religious controversialists, " the judicious Hooker," of whom it was said he was not as concerned to

prove that his opponents were wrong, as to prove *why* they were wrong. Richard Hooker gives as the supreme reason for his great controversial undertaking in *The Ecclesiastical Polity* that he would not basely, through silence, allow things to pass away as in a dream.

Religious controversy is the worst kind of controversy. It jars and it bores, and it even dissipates religion. "The true atheist," said Francis Bacon, "is he who handles holy things without feeling"—that is, without realizing their essential sacredness for others as well as for himself. This is the besetting sin of the religious controversialist.

For the average Englishman, as for Tom Hood, religion is a purely personal and private matter.

> "For I consider faith and prayers
> Among the privatest of men's affairs,
> I love my neighbour far too well, in fact,
> To call and twit him with a godly tract."

According to the well-known story, when

Samuel Rogers was asked by a lady, "What is your religion?" he replied: "The religion of all sensible men, madam." And when the question naturally followed: "What is the religion of all sensible men?" he promptly replied, "Every sensible man, madam, keeps that to himself."

This religion of all sensible men can, however, only refer to personal religion as it exists in the inner life of the individual—what John Henry Newman referred to when he wrote of:—

> "two and two only absolute and luminously self-evident beings, myself and my Creator"

or what St. Augustine referred to when he said:—

> "I retire into myself, and thence I ascend unto God."

This personal religion, regarded as communion with God, we do not propose to deal with controversially in this book. Nor have we any desire to attack any

individual's personal religion, whatever his religious denomination may be. If there be a religion of all sensible men, there is also a religion of all good men; and no one, especially one who has friends in many religious denominations, including the Roman Church, would wish to attack the religion of such. He would feel that in doing so he was sinning against, not simply the individual, but the Eternal Goodness reflected in every good man's conduct and character. For, as William Blake enjoined:—

> "And all must love the human form,
> In heathen, Turk or Jew:
> Where Mercy, Love, and Pity dwell
> There God is dwelling too."

As this book deals with the Roman controversy, the reader may be disappointed at not hearing the Protestant drum resounding through its pages, and he will feel that in his heart the writer does not really believe in Protestantism. If he have this feeling, he will not be

mistaken. The writer of this book no more believes in Protestantism than he does in Romanism. He views traditional Protestantism as he views mediæval Romanism, as a temporary phase in the history of the Christian Religion. They both mark the conclusion of a former age, not the dawn of a new age, as Prof. McGiffert has pointed out in his admirable volume *Protestant Thought before Kant.*

Parson Thwackum's dictum :—

> " When I say religion I mean the Christian religion, and when I say the Christian religion I mean the Protestant religion, and when I say the Protestant religion I mean the Church of England,"

seems to us to be as unchristian as those Papal Bulls which assume and affirm that outside the Roman Catholic Church there is no salvation for any human being. The Spirit of Christ, which should be the spirit of the Christian Religion, knows nothing of such religious arrogance, whether Protestant or Roman. And the

modern educated man regards as absurd such complacent assumptions on the part of both parties.

Protestant fundamentalism, sectarianism and bigotry are in our eyes *impedimenta* which the Christian Religion should get rid of, and indeed is getting rid of. When these have gone, it will be said by some that the Protestant religion has gone: that may be so, but the Christian Religion of the Reformed Churches will not have gone.

It is our conviction that the future of the Christian Religion lies no more with present-day Protestantism than it does with Romanism. Therefore, the readers of this volume will not be asked to become, even in thought, accomplices in the practice of robbing Peter to pay Paul.

There is a form of the Christian Religion which is personal and individualist. There is another form which is social and organized. It is this second

form which is called Catholic. It is the conviction of the Catholic Christian, as it was for the author of the Epistle to the Ephesians, that the Church is essential to the Christian Religion. It is needful, in order to enable it to carry on the mission of Christ to mankind. It is the Body of Christ, endowed with His Spirit. Without the Church, the Christian Religion could not have survived, and without the Church it cannot triumph. In this sense of the word Catholic, the writer of this book is a Catholic Christian. He is a believer in the office of the Christian Church and of the institutions of the Christian Church, and in the continuity of Christian thought: what is generally called "the great Catholic heritage." But he is also a Protestant, if belief in the indefeasible right of private judgment be the essence of Protestantism.

So far from regarding Romanism as the equivalent of Catholicism, or as the best form of Catholicism, the writer is

compelled, in the light of Church history, to regard Romanism as the greatest enemy of Catholicism. It is Rome which has rightly been called "the great schismatic," for it is she who, by her temper and policy, has split the Catholic Church of Christ asunder. This point has to be stressed at the very outset, because it is of the greatest advantage to the Romanist apologist to secure the identification of Romanism with Catholicism, and to lead mankind to believe that the "Holy Roman Church," which is its official title, is the same as the Holy Catholic Church of the Primitive Christian creeds.

Catholicism, as a form of Christianity, may be open to criticism, but in that case it is a different kind of criticism from any with which Romanism is faced. Anyone who desires to understand, from the Catholic side, how much Rome has sinned against Catholicism, should study that learned and reliable

volume *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*.[1]

It must not therefore be supposed for one moment that in criticizing Romanism we are necessarily criticizing Catholicism. Romanism is but one form of Catholicism —in our view a corrupt and perverted form. Catholicism existed before Romanism, and it is quite possible that it will exist after it.

[1] By F. W. Puller, of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley.

CHAPTER II

ROME, THE IMMORTAL?

THE inspired tinker, in his *Pilgrim's Progress*, tells his readers that his hero, Christian, after his harrowing experience in the Valley of the shadow of Death, saw at the end of the valley

> "blood, bones, ashes, and mangled bodies of men, even of pilgrims that had gone this way formerly: and while I was musing what should be the reason I espied a little before me a cave, where two giants, *Pope* and *Pagan*, dwelt in old times: by whose power and tyranny the men whose bones, blood, ashes, etc., lay there, were cruelly put to death. Set by this place Christian went without much danger, whereat I somewhat wondered: but I have learnt since, that *Pagan* has been dead many a day: and as for the other, though he be yet alive, he is, by reason of age, and also of the many shrewd brushes that he met with in his younger days, grown so crazy and stiff in his joints, that he can now do

little more than sit in his cave's mouth, grinning at pilgrims as they go by, and biting his nails because he cannot come at them.

So I saw that Christian went on his way: yet, at the sight of the Old Man that sat in the mouth of the cave, he could not tell what to think, especially because he spake to him, though he could not go after him, saying, 'You will never mend till more of you be burned.'"

John Bunyan, the ex-Roundhead soldier, had still fresh in his memory some of those "shrewd brushes" by which Oliver Cromwell and his Ironsides had well-nigh extirpated Popery from these islands, and had even intimidated it on the Continent; but the Allegorist's diagnosis of the condition of the giants was woefully mistaken. Giant Pagan was not dead, and is as much alive to-day in Europe as he was in the reign of the Emperor Diocletian. As for Giant Pope, if he be a-dying, he is, like Charles II, "an unconscionable time about it," and does not seem at all disposed, like the politest of

English monarchs, to make any apology for it to those who are worn out watching his death-throes.

Lord Macaulay, writing as a historian two hundred years after John Bunyan, noted what John Bunyan had failed to realize—the extraordinary survival power of the Roman Church. Macaulay has recorded this in a memorable and oft-quoted passage in his essay on von Ranke's *History of the Papacy*.

> "The Papacy remains, not in decay, not a mere antique, but full of life and youthful vigour. The Catholic Church is still sending forth to the farthest ends of the world missionaries as zealous as those who landed in Kent with Augustine, and still confronting hostile kings with the same spirit with which she confronted Attila. The number of her children is greater than in any former age. . . . Nor do we see any sign which indicates that the term of her long dominion is approaching. She saw the commencement of all the governments and of all the ecclesiastical establishments that now exist in the world: and we feel no assurance that she is not destined to see the end of them all. She was great and respected before the

> Saxon had set foot on Britain, before the Frank had passed the Rhine, when Grecian eloquence still flourished in Antioch, when idols were still worshipped in the temple of Mecca. And she may still exist in undiminished vigour when some traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's."

It might be supposed that the writer of such a passage as this would feel compelled to become a member of the Roman Church. But the mere suggestion that he should do so would have seemed as absurd to Macaulay as it would have seemed ludicrous to his fellow-contributors to the *Edinburgh Review*.

Things might have a survival power, but for a man of Macaulay's mental weight it would not follow that such survivals had any moral or rational claim upon his loyalty, or that, judged by rational and moral standards, they had any right to survive. Macaulay did not know—what has only become knowledge since his

time—that, speaking generally, the lower an organism is in the biological scale the greater is its power of survival. The lowly yeast germ amœba enjoys an almost timeless existence, whereas man is unable to survive a century. Long-lived as it might be, the Church of Rome was for Macaulay not the religion of Christ, but "an august and fascinating superstition."

It may be worth while in this connection to answer the question, What is a superstition? The word superstition, by its derivation, means a survival. It is used in the scientific study of religion to describe earlier religious beliefs or practices which have survived into some later stage of religious evolution. They may be interesting survivals, or harmless survivals, or detrimental survivals. We come across such classes of survivals in every form of the evolutionary process. Our caudal vertebræ are interesting and harmless survivals. On the other hand, our

appendix vermiformis is interesting, no doubt, but a distinctly detrimental survival.

To anthropologists and students of Comparative Religion, all superstitions are immensely interesting. They simply adore them. To agnostics of the Gallio type superstitions are as harmless as they are uninteresting. They bore them. But the religious reformer views superstition as the surgeon views the human appendix, as a potential danger which may even deprive of life the organism which maintains it.

In this connection there is a point which needs to be stressed here. What is now a superstition was, in an earlier stage of the evolution of religion, not a superstition at all, but a vigorous expression of religion, living in harmony with its environment, and so serving an entirely useful purpose in that environment. But having, owing to the general evolution of religion, become a superstition in a later

evolutionary stage, it is now out of harmony with its environment, and serves a no more useful purpose in that environment than does the appendix vermiformis in the human body. Of a superstition it may be said, in Bret Harte's phrase, "It is, and it hadn't ought to be." Although its prolonged existence serves no useful purpose, and may even be a source of distress and repulsion, yet, like Dean Swift's Struldbrugs, it cannot die.

Macaulay's description of the Roman superstition as august and fascinating, is extraordinarily interesting in the light of Prof. Otto's illuminating volume *The Idea of the Holy*. There Prof. Otto describes the object to which the numinous consciousness is directed as *mysterium tremendum fascinans*. These are essential qualities in primitive religions, although not so in the highest form of the Christian Religion.

"There is no fear in love; but perfect love casteth out fear: because fear hath

> torment. He that feareth is not made perfect in love." [1]

So wrote the Apostle of Love. But in the primitive religions, terror and mystery, and the fascination which they possess for the weak and ignorant, are prime factors in religious power. The Church of Rome possesses them in a high degree, and exercises them with a subtle wisdom acquired by a long and very varied experience.

The Apostle to the Gentiles was bitterly disappointed in the case of his Galatian converts, that, having won them by his preaching to the higher religion of Christ, they should have in his absence so rapidly succumbed to a lower type of religion: "O foolish Galatians," he exclaimed, "who has fascinated you that you should not obey the truth?"

A study of Otto, had that been possible, would have shown St. Paul how easy it was for this to come about. It is

[1] 1 *John* iv. 18.

the lower religion, not the higher religion, which possesses the power to bewitch. The lower religion makes its appeal to primitive religious emotion by means of magic and miracles, terror and mystery, ritual and asceticism. The highest religion makes its appeal to man only through his rational, moral and spiritual consciousness. By the spiritual consciousness we mean the religious consciousness purged from all irrational and immoral elements. The spiritual consciousness may transcend the rational and moral consciousness, but it can never be immoral and irrational. As Benjamin Whichcote, the Cambridge Platonist, wrote:—

> "I oppose not rational to spiritual, for spiritual is most rational."

CHAPTER III

AN AUGUST AND FASCINATING SUPERSTITION

WHAT is the origin of this amazing superstition which has fascinated and still continues to fascinate multitudes ?

Truth is stranger than fiction, and the historians in their facts, if not in their style, provide better reading than the novelists. Who could have imagined that certain words of dubious historicity and still more dubious interpretation, addressed to Simon Peter by his Master in the rural solitudes of Cæsarea-Philippi, could be the foundation stone of the papal claims ?

Lifting our eyes as we stand before the High Altar of St. Peter's in Rome, we see inscribed in golden letters six feet long, round the base of the dome :—

> "*Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam et tibi dabo claves regni coelorum.*"

These words are recorded only in St. Matthew's Gospel. They do not occur in the most archaic of the Gospels, St. Mark, which is in a special sense the Gospel of the Church of Rome, for it contains, according to all early Christian tradition, St. Peter's memories of Jesus, as St. Peter himself delivered them in his public teaching to his Roman converts.

In the days before scientific literary criticism was applied to the study of the Gospels, such an omission from St. Mark's Gospel had no particular significance. In those days the belief in the plenary verbal inspiration of Scripture and its absolute historical accuracy in every detail prevailed. If St. Mark omitted these words, as do St. Luke and St. John, then it was assumed with complete confidence that it was because the Holy Spirit inspired these writers to omit them. If St.

Matthew has them, it was because the Holy Spirit inspired him to insert them, and of course inspired him to insert them because they are historically true. Such a way of solving these Biblical problems is no longer possible for educated people of liberated minds in this age. The fact that St. Matthew's Gospel alone has these words, and that St. Mark, the earlier Gospel, on which the writer of St. Matthew relies for so much of his Gospel, has not got them, raises a serious difficulty in regard to their historicity.

The fact also that this saying attributed to Jesus contains the phrase "My Church," increases the difficulty of regarding them as the actual words of Jesus. Nowhere else in the Gospels does Jesus speak of "My Church." Indeed, only in one other passage in the Gospels, and that St. Matthew's, does the word "church" occur, and there it is more than doubtful whether the saying which contains it, although attributed to Jesus,

can be His. In that saying the individual who has been offended by an impenitent brother is directed to report it to the Church, and if the impenitent brother thereafter refuses to hear the Church, Jesus says, "Let him be to thee as a Gentile and a publican."

It is hard to imagine the author of the parable of the Good Samaritan and "the friend of publicans and sinners" speaking in this way of the impenitent brother. The saying attributed to Jesus in *Matthew* xviii. 17 seems plainly to be a later addition made by the early Jewish Christian Church to guide its officials in their treatment of offending brethren (*i.e.* fellow church members).

But to return to a consideration of the words addressed to St. Peter by Christ in *Matthew* xvi. 18, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will found my Church." Even supposing that the words were spoken by Christ to St. Peter, how can they possibly have the meaning which is

assigned to them by the upholders of the papal claims ?

How could Christ have meant to say to St. Peter on that occasion that the Bishops of Rome were to be regarded as the sole successors of St. Peter, and to be the heirs of his supreme authority over the Christian Church for all time ? Yet it is claimed that Christ, by these words, conferred this authority upon the Roman Pontiffs. Is it clear that Christ meant by these words that His Church was founded on St. Peter ?

Does the second part of the saying give to St. Peter greater rights than those conferred on the Apostles, as a body, in St. John's Gospel, when the risen Christ breathed on them and said—

> " Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them : and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained " ? [1]

Or than a similar authority conferred, not on St. Peter alone, but on a group of the

[1] *John* xx. 23.

primitive disciples as recorded in *St. Matthew* xviii. 18.

> "Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven"?

This power of binding and loosing or, to use a modern phrase, this power of self-government (subject to the presence and inspiration of the Holy Spirit), was conferred, according to primitive Christian tradition, by Christ, not on St. Peter alone, but on the whole group of the primitive Apostles or disciples. This is seen by the use of the plural in *Matthew* xviii. 18, and in *John* xx. 21–23.

> "Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you: as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained."

As for the rock on which, according to St. Matthew, Christ's Church was to be

built; is that rock St. Peter, or is it the Christhood of Jesus which St. Peter had just confessed? Plainly, it must have been the Christhood of Jesus. For it is on that Christhood, His Messianic mission and claims, that the Christian Church is founded and survives. Where the Christhood of Jesus is doubted, His Church must collapse. There is no evidence that the Christian Church of the New Testament—that is to say, the Church of the Apostles of Jesus—knew anything of the supreme position which the Papacy claims to have been assigned to St. Peter.

We are not concerned here, and on this occasion, so much to show what these words of Christ mean, as to indicate what they cannot mean. They cannot mean that in founding His Church upon the rock, Christ was founding it upon the line of Roman pontiffs who traced their apostolic descent to St. Peter as the first Bishop of Rome. There is no evidence that, if

Christ did give such a position of unique authority to St. Peter, He made that authority transmissible to the Roman Pontiffs. And we must add, that no evidence exists in Scripture of St. Peter transmitting such authority solely to the Bishops of Rome. Moreover, the evidence for St. Peter being the first Bishop of Rome is quite unconvincing.

Both St. Peter and St. Paul helped to establish [1] the Christian Church in Rome: there can be no doubt that there were Christians in Rome, and possibly an organized Church there, even before St. Peter and St. Paul visited that city. There is good historical evidence for believing that both the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, were martyred at Rome, and that, as their memory was lovingly honoured by the Roman Church, so also their actual bones were treasured. St. Paul, in his *Epistle to the Romans*,

[1] "Establish"—not to *found*, but to *strengthen*, or "to set up on a secure basis" (*Oxford Dictionary*, Vol. III, p. 297).

written about A.D. 53, makes no reference at all to St. Peter having founded the Roman Church, and there is no statement in any part of the New Testament to the effect that St. Peter did found the Roman Church.[1]

Also it should be noted that there is no sound reason for believing that there was any sole ruler or monarchical bishop of Rome until long after the days of St. Peter and St. Paul.

The earliest known document emanating from the Church of Rome is the Epistle of Clement of Rome (written in A.D. 96), addressed to the Corinthians, exhorting them to restore their church to a condition of apostolic order and peace. This epistle, unlike later documents emanating from the Roman Church, is not put forth by a monarchical Bishop of Rome. It opens with these words:—

[1] Indeed, had St. Peter founded the Roman Church, St. Paul, who had no desire to labour in another man's sphere made ready to his hand, would surely have made some reference to the fact when proposing to visit the Roman Christians (cf. *Romans* xv. 19–20).

> "The Church of God which sojourneth in Rome to the Church of God which sojourneth in Corinth, to them which are called and sanctified by the will of God through our Lord Jesus Christ."

There is no reference in any part of this document to any monarchical Bishop of Rome. Indeed, the author of it indicates clearly that for him the apostolic form of Church government is by bishops and deacons. (See *Clem. Rom.* chap. 42.) This, not government by a monarchical bishop, was the kind of Church government which prevailed in Corinth and Rome at this time.

Historical research has made clear that each primitive Christian church (with the possible exception of Jerusalem) was governed by a local ministry, consisting of two groups or committees: the superior one composed of presbyter-bishops and the inferior one of deacons or ministers. Sometimes the members of the superior committee are called presbyters or elders; at other times they are called bishops or overseers; but the two terms

are interchangeable, as we see in St. Paul's address to the Ephesian Church officials at Miletus.[1] These two bodies governed the local church, and that is why St. Paul in the opening of his *Epistle to the Philippians* refers to them both.

> "Paul and Timotheus, the servants of Jesus Christ, to all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons."[2]

Towards the end of the first century, for reasons which we need not deal with here,[3] various local churches in Syria and Asia Minor began to develop what has been called a monarchical episcopate. That is to say, a member of the superior committee was chosen as the supreme administrator and representative of the local church. It is clear that the monarchical episcopate had not been developed in either Rome or Corinth at the time the Church of Rome addressed its letter to the Church of Corinth.

[1] *Acts* xx. 18, cf. 28. [2] *Phil.* i. 1.
[3] See Lightfoot's *Essay on the Christian Ministry* for all relevant facts.

The famous St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, who was taken in the days of the Emperor Trajan to be martyred at Rome (about A.D. 112), wrote a number of letters to different churches during his last journey. One he addressed to the Church of Rome, and although in addressing several of the other churches he addresses also their monarchical bishops by name, yet he does not do so in the case of the Church of Rome.[1] The opening words of his epistle run as follows :—

> " Ignatius, who is also Theophorus, unto her that hath found mercy in the bountifulness of the Father Most High and of Jesus Christ His only Son : to the church that is beloved and enlightened through the will of Him who willed all things that are, by

[1] This omission is significant in view of a tendency, noticeable elsewhere in Ignatius, to emphasize episcopal authority. *E.g.* his *Epistle to the Smyrnaeans*, cap. 8. " Wheresoever the bishop shall appear, there let the people be; even as where Christ Jesus may be, there is the universal Church. It is not lawful apart from the bishop either to baptize or to hold a love-feast, but whatsoever he shall approve, this is well-pleasing also to God; that everything which ye do may be sure and valid."

> faith and love towards Jesus Christ our God: even unto her that hath the presidency in the country of the region of the Romans, being worthy of God, worthy of honour, worthy of felicitation, worthy of praise, worthy of success, worthy in purity, and having the presidency of love, walking in the law of Christ and bearing the Father's name: which church also I salute in the name of Jesus Christ the Son of the Father: unto them that in flesh and spirit are united unto His every commandment, being filled with the grace of God without wavering, and filtered clear from every foreign stain: abundant greeting in Jesus Christ our God in blamelessness."

Later on, Ignatius calls himself the Bishop for Syria, and exhorts the Roman Christians to form themselves into a chorus of love, but he nowhere refers to a Bishop of Rome.

This is surprising if there was a Bishop of Rome at this time, for in writing to the Smyrnæans he speaks of "your godly bishop," and in writing to the Philadelphians he also refers to the Bishop, and so in his Epistle to the Trallians. This

failure to refer in his Roman epistle to the Bishop of Rome is no doubt due to the fact that there was no monarchical Bishop of Rome at that time.

The Church of Rome has, in Rome itself, been remarkably conservative, and this is exemplified by the very late appearance of the monarchical episcopate in Rome. It was not until at least some fifty years after St. Peter's death that the Church of Rome had a monarchical bishop. The *Shepherd* of Hermas, a Roman document, asserted by the Muratorian Canon to have been written between A.D. 140 and 155, but probably a good deal earlier, indicates clearly that there was no monarchical bishop in Rome when it was composed. Hermas writes of the directions given to him as to the disposal of his work.

> "Thou shalt therefore write two little books and shalt send one to Clement and one to Grapte. So Clement shall send to the foreign cities, for this is his duty: while Grapte shall instruct the widows

> and the orphans. But thou shalt read the book to this city [*i.e.* Rome] along with the presbyters presiding over the Church." [1]

When the learned Roman Catholic historian Duchesne, in his *L'histoire ancienne de l'Église* (E.T., 1914, Vol. I. p. 70), writes that the Church of God which dwells in Rome may have inherited the supreme authority of its Apostolic founders in a *diffused* form ; this authority concentrated itself in " the priest-bishops as a body," he is true to the historical evidence. When, however, he proceeds to add that " one of them embodied it more specially, and exercised it," he is going beyond the historical evidence. The various Roman episcopal lists which trace the line of Roman pontiffs back to St. Peter are not reliable.[2] Hence, at the very outset the claim of the Roman pontiffs to have received their unique authority from St. Peter, as his sole successors, breaks down.

[1] *Vision*, II. 4.

[2] See the Lists of early Pontiffs in the Appendix to this chapter.

The whole notion of the Christian Church being founded solely on St. Peter is utterly alien to the Christian faith of the New Testament. St. Paul speaks of the Christian Church as being built on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner stone. Elsewhere St. Paul writes: "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ."

John, the Seer of the Apocalypse, sees inscribed on the foundation stones of the New Jerusalem the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb.

St. Peter was the leading member of the Twelve, but in the New Testament it is clear that his authority was not greater than that of St. Paul, who "withstood him to the face," [1] or than the authority of St. James of Jerusalem, the Lord's brother, who presided over the First Council of the Christian Church in Jerusalem at which both St. Peter and St. Paul were present.[2]

[1] *Gal.* ii. 11. [2] *Acts* xv. 13.

St. Peter himself, though possessed both of the spirit of leadership and of foundation, seems to have been singularly free from the spirit of domination and Lordship. He writes in his Epistle :—

> " The elders (presbyters) which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder (presbyter). . . . Feed the flock of God. . . . Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock." [1]

One might almost think in these words St. Peter, with prophetic vision, is rebuking claims to Lordship, which the Roman pontiffs were at a later age to assert in his name.

But St. Peter, in speaking thus, is loyal to the teaching of his Master as recorded in the Petrine Gospel: when St. John and St. James sought the chief places in the Kingdom, Jesus said to His disciples :—

> " Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles exercise lordship over them: and their great ones exercise

[1] 1 *Peter* v. 1–3.

authority upon them. But so shall it not be among you: but whosoever will be great among you shall be your minister (*diakonos*): and whosoever of you wishest to be first shall be slave (*doulos*) of all." [1]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III

Lists of Early Roman Pontiffs

(I am indebted to G. K. Brown, M.A., Ph.D. (author of *Italy and the Reformation*) for the compilation of the following lists, mainly from the data to be found in Mirbt, *Quellen zur Gesch. d. Papsttums*, etc. It should be observed that none of these lists is earlier than the middle of the second century. It was the struggle of the Church against Gnostic heresy which led to their compilation.)

List I

Hegesippus. (Mirbt, *Quellen z. Gesch. des Papsttums*, etc., 1924, p. 12. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*: *S. Clement of Rome*, Vol. I., pp. 327 ff.) This list belongs to mid-second

[1] *Mark* x. 42–44. It is interesting to notice the use in a period of growing Papal authority—the Middle Ages—by Pontiffs of the title "*servus servorum Dei*" ("servant of the servants of God"). It seems to have been first used by Pope Gregory I (590–604).

century, and Lightfoot (*St. Clement of Rome*, Vol. I., pp. 329 ff.) opines that EPIPHANIUS utilized the lost list of Hegesippus which runs as follows :—

1. Linus.
2. Cletus.
3. Clemens.
4. Evaristus.
5. Alexander.
6. Xystus.
7. Telesphorus.

LIST II

IRENÆUS. (Mirbt, *Quellen*, pp. 18–19.) *Bishop of Lyons*, d. *circa* A.D. 178.

1. Linus.
2. Anacletus.
3. Clement.
4. Evaristus.
5. Alexander.
6. Sixtus.[1]
7. Telesphorus (martyred).

LIST III

EUSEBIUS OF CÆSAREA (d. *circa* 339) (Mirbt, *Quellen*, pp. 42–43; Lightfoot, *St. Clement of Rome*, Vol. I., p. 272.)

1. Linus.
2. Anencletus.
3. Clement.
4. Evaristus.
5. Alexander.
6. Xystus.
7. Telesphorus.

[1] "*Sextus ab apostolis constitutus est Sixtus*, . . ." (sixth from the Apostles was constituted Sixtus).

List IV

Catalogus Liberianus

(Date, 354.) (Mirbt, *Quellen*, pp. 52–53.)

1. Linus.
2. Clemens.
3. Cletus.
4. Anacletus.
5. Aristus (Evaristus).
6. Alexander.
7. Sixtus.

List V

Optatus of Mibra, *circa* 370. (Mirbt, *Quellen*, p. 54; Lightfoot, *S. Clement of Rome*, p. 274.) In the list of earlier Pontiffs.

1. Linus.
2. Clemens.
3. Anacletus.
4. Evaristus.
5. (Alexander omitted here for *Eleutherius*.)
6. Sixtus.
7. Telesphorus.

The lack of agreement in these lists tells its own story. The learned Rufinus, presbyter of Aquileia, who died in A.D. 410 (our earliest commentator on the Apostles' Creed) would make Linus and Cletus to be somewhat like suffragans to St. Peter, who himself held the real episcopal authority and jurisdiction. In this tradition Clemens, not Linus or Cletus, was the real successor of Peter. "*Et hoc modo utrumque verum videbitur, ut et illi ante Clementem numerentur episcopi, et Clemens tamen post obitum Petri docendi susceperit sedem.*"

CHAPTER IV

THE PAPAL CLAIM TO INFALLIBILITY

NOT one of the least amazing of the papal claims is that the Pope when he speaks *ex cathedrâ* on Faith and Morals is infallible, that is to say incapable of error. This claim to infallibility was thus defined by the Vatican Council of 1870.

> "Therefore we [the Pope], clinging faithfully to the tradition received from the beginning of the Christian Faith, for the glory of God our Saviour, for the exaltation of the Catholic Religion, and for the salvation of Christian peoples, do teach with the approbation of the Holy Council, and do define as a dogma revealed by God, that when the Roman Pontiff speaks *ex cathedrâ*—that is, when he, using his office as pastor and doctor of all Christians, in virtue of his Apostolic office, defines a doctrine of faith and morals to be held by the whole Church, he by the Divine assistance promised to him in the blessed Peter, possesses that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer was pleased to invest His Church in the definition

> of doctrine on faith or morals, and that therefore, such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable in their own nature and not because of the consent of the Church. But if any man (which God forbid!) presume to contradict this our definition let him be accursed." [1]

This decree of infallibility, as is well known, owed some of its success to the political advice and help of Odo Russell, who was not even a Roman Catholic, but a religious indifferent, and it was carried in the Vatican Council, with the help of the titular bishops and the occupants of a great number of petty Italian sees, in opposition to the most learned and influential bishops and theologians in the Roman Church, such as Döllinger, Herzog, and Hefele.

Roman apologists for papal infallibility are accustomed to overawe those who know nothing of the history of the Church by asserting that from the earliest times the great saints and teachers of the Church, usually called the Fathers,

[1] *Papal Infallibility*, by G. G. Coulton, p. 53.

are supporters of the claim of papal infallibility.

We are unwilling to trouble our readers with citations from those Fathers of the Christian Church, partly because such citations can be so greatly multiplied, partly because the proper understanding of them by amateurs demands much explanation, and partly because "patristic" proof—as this kind of proof is called—carries very little weight for the modern man. It merely represents for him the opinions of ecclesiastics of the past whom he regards as no more infallible than ecclesiastics in the present.

There is, however, one patristic citation upon which the Romanists place so much reliance that we are compelled to deal with it here. It is contained in a treatise directed against the Gnostic heretics written by St. Irenæus, who became Bishop of Lyons and Vienne about the year A.D. 178. In his treatise *Against all Heretics* St. Irenæus writes of the Church of Rome:—

"For to this church, on account of its more influential pre-eminence, it is necessary that every church should resort—that is to say, the faithful, who are from all quarters: and in this church the tradition, which comes from the apostles, has ever been preserved by those who are from all quarters." [1]

This passage is commented on and explained by F. W. Puller as follows:—

"It will be well to consider what is the pith and substance and scope of St. Irenæus' argument. What he wishes to enforce is, that the teaching of the apostles may be learnt from the public witness of the various apostolic churches, among which there was, at the time when St. Irenæus writes (*circa* 180), complete doctrinal agreement in regard to all the great fundamental points which had to be discussed in the controversy with the Gnostics. He gives reasons for supposing that the first bishops of the apostolic churches were fully instructed by the apostles, who appointed them, in the complete system of apostolic teaching. He further asserts that the catalogues of the names of the various bishops who had succeeded each other in the different apostolic sees, existed in his time, and that it was well known that no one of those bishops

[1] St. Irenæus, *op. cit.*, III. iii. 1, 2.

had ever taught the heresies maintained by the Gnostics. He argues from these premises that the original teaching, which the apostles were commissioned to promulgate, was not the teaching propagated by the Gnostic bodies. As the apostolic churches were many in number, he thinks it sufficient to make a selection from among them, because an exhaustive investigation of the episcopal catalogues in all of them would take too long. He chooses as his first specimen the primatial Church of Rome, which not only ranked first among all the apostolic churches, but was also the nearest apostolic see to Lyons, and was the church in which in all probability St. Irenæus had himself received his consecration to the episcopate. . . . St. Irenæus points out that the Roman Church, on account of its special pre-eminence, was continually visited by representatives of other churches all over the world, and that this fact constituted an additional guarantee of the purity of its faith. . . . Having begun with the witness of the apostolic Church of Rome, St. Irenæus refers next to the witness of the apostolic Church of Smyrna. . . .

"Finally he refers to the witness of the apostolic Church of Ephesus. . . . Having referred to the testimony of the three important apostolic churches of Rome, Smyrna, and Ephesus, St. Irenæus goes on to say, 'Since, therefore, we have proofs of such

cogency (*tantae ostensiones*), we ought not to seek the truth among others, which it is easy to obtain from the Church.' It is important to notice that St. Irenæus' appeal is primarily to the witness of *all* the apostolic churches. At the beginning of the whole argument, he speaks of 'the tradition of the apostles manifested throughout the world in *every* church.' . . . His appeal to Rome is prompted by convenience rather than by any dogmatic reason. At any rate, the motive of convenience drives him to make a selection, and ultimately he in fact selects the churches of Rome, Smyrna, and Ephesus. It is also very noticeable that in regard to all these three churches, St. Irenæus takes care to point out all the circumstances of their early history which would make it probable that the tradition of the faith had been transmitted pure and unaltered from the time of the apostles to the time in which he was writing."[1]

The view of Roman Catholic controversialists that this passage of St. Irenæus teaches the infallible authority of the Church of Rome, and as that which makes her the Church with which all other churches must of necessity agree,

[1] *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*, by F. W. Puller, p. 20 (cf. pp. 19–35).

is based upon mistranslation and misconception.

The evidence of the primitive Fathers of the Church on this point is meagre and conflicting. What must impress any investigator most is that if the popes possessed infallibility before 1870, there were many of them who seemed to be quite unaware that they possessed it. A large number of disputes which threatened to rend the Roman Church asunder might have been settled by the sole utterance of the reigning Pope, had the reigning Pope known that he possessed the gift of infallibility, and had the disputants themselves believed that he possessed such a gift.

For instance, the prolonged and violent strife between Franciscans and Dominicans over the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin—a dogma which the Franciscans declared to be true and the Dominicans affirmed to be heretical—ought to have been settled at once by the infallible Pope, and not have

been allowed to disturb and divide the Church for so many years.

Many examples of this unconsciousness of the existence of papal infallibility can be cited from the history of the mediæval Church. Dr. Salmon has collected a number of them, which may be found in his acute and amusing volume on *The Infallibility of the Church.* These examples have been added to by Canon W. J. Sparrow-Simpson in his erudite volume *Roman Catholic Opposition to Papal Infallibility.* We cite a few of those which are calculated to live in the memory. Cardinal Bellarmine, the most weighty of Jesuit controversialists (the Goliath of Rome, as his opponents named him), wrote to Pope Clement VIII, who wished to make a theological pronouncement in order to put an end to the strife between the Dominicans and the Jesuits on the subject of Grace and Free-Will :—

"You are no theologian, and you must not think that by your own study you can

come to understand so very obscure a question." [1]

In 1333 the King of France sent to Pope John XXII a condemnation of that Pope's views by thirty Doctors of Divinity of the University of Paris, and demanded that he should not only endorse it, but should punish all who dared to contradict it.

"The Doctors of Paris, he told his Holiness, knew what ought to be believed in matters of faith much better than the lawyers and other clerks about the Pope, who knew little or no theology. The reply of John XXII is as humble and apologetic as if he were a young student at Paris in danger of losing his Bachelor's degree for heresy. He apologises for venturing to express an opinion upon a theological question when he was not a Doctor of Divinity." [2]

William of Ockham writes:—

"Origen, the Bible-commentator, erred no less openly and fell into heresy: much more easily then can Popes, who are often

[1] *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*, by F. W. Puller, p. 41.

[2] From Rashdall's *History of the Mediæval Universities*, cited in Dr. Coulton's *Papal Infallibility*, p. 41.

illiterate and ignorant of Holy Scripture, fall into heresy."

Alfonso de Castro writes :—

"For I do not think there is any man so impudent in his flattery of the Pope as to attribute to him the impossibility of erring or being deceived in his interpretation of Holy Scripture. For since it is well known that many of them have been so illiterate as to be utterly ignorant of grammar, how should they be able to interpret Holy Scripture?"

A study of papal history supplies abundant justification for the statements of William of Ockham and Alfonso de Castro. Many of the mediæval popes were very ignorant men theologically. And although they did not know themselves to be infallible, yet they did know themselves to be ignorant, and so did not intervene in theological disputations, in which some of them at least would seem to have had as little interest as they had competence.

There are examples, however, of popes who did intervene in theological disputes,

and had the misfortune to pronounce decisions which were afterwards condemned by the Church as heretical.

Dr. Littledale, in his well-known volume *Plain Reasons against joining the Church of Rome*, has given two notable instances of this kind, either of which would, of course, be sufficient to disprove the dogma of Papal Infallibility.

> "As to the infallibility of the Popes, it will be enough, out of many disproofs which are at hand, to say that:—
>
> "(*a*) Pope Liberius subscribed an Arian creed, and *anathematized St. Athanasius as a heretic.* ('Liberius, overcome with the irksomeness of exile, subscribed to heretical error, and entered Rome as a conqueror') (St. Jerome, *Chron.*, A.D. 357). St. Peter Damiani, in the eleventh century, speaks of Liberius as not only a heretic, but an apostate ("*Liber Gratissimus*," cap. xvi.).
>
> "(*b*) Pope Honorius was unanimously condemned by the Sixth General Council as a heretic, for having publicly sided with the Monothelite heresy, and officially taught it in dogmatic Pontifical letters, in reply to a formal application from three Eastern

Patriarchs to him as Pope to declare his opinion, the legates of his own successor, Pope Agatho, taking the lead in anathematizing him: and a successor of his, Leo II, wrote to assure the Spanish Bishops that Honorius and his accomplices in heresy were certainly damned. ('*Æterna condemnatione mulctati sunt*'—words which cannot be honestly softened down to denote only the human anathema.) The Seventh and Eighth so-called General Councils repeat the sentence: while every Pope for several centuries had to renew the anathema at his coronation. (Renouf, *Cond. of Pope Honorius*; Gratry, *Letters to Mgr. Dechamps*; Willis, *Pope Honorius and the New Roman Dogma*, in the *Somme des Conciles*, by the Abbé Guyot, Vol. I. p. 315 (Paris, 1868), the condemnation of Honorius is simply cut out from the judgment pronounced in Session xiii of the Council: just as it has been cut out of the Roman Breviary, where, till the reform of Clement VIII, it stood in the office of Leo II on June 28.)"

It would be hard to express more trenchantly the terrible dilemma with which the devout Romanist is faced by his knowledge of these undoubted historical facts than by the argument of Cardinal Manning.

> "For, seeing that the Church is bound to obey the Pope, if it were possible for the Pope to fall into error, the Church must either be led by obedience into error, and therefore the Infallibility also must be abandoned, or by disobedience she would fall into contumacy against the God-given authority of the Pope." [1]

The dogma of papal infallibility had, however, little support in these islands before the ascendancy of Cardinal Manning. This is seen from the statement of the Roman Catholic prelate, Bishop Baines, in 1822, as cited by Mr. Gladstone:—

> "In England or Ireland I do not believe any Catholic maintains the Infallibility of the Pope."

We may add that in the public memorial submitted to Parliament in 1788 by the Roman Catholics who pleaded for the removal of Roman Catholic disabilities, they did much to disarm opposition by stating: "We acknowledge no infallibility in the Pope."

But this Roman Catholic disbelief in

[1] *Papal Infallibility*, by G. G. Coulton, p. 144.

papal infallibility is by no means confined to our insular Romans. The General Council of Constance (A.D. 1414–1418) formally and deliberately denied papal infallibility. This Council was not in the least Protestant in temper, as is shown by its burning John Huss. In the seventeenth century Bishop Bossuet, " the eagle of Meaux " and " the Hammer of Protestants," denied the papal infallibility, and was uncondemned.

When the simple unbeliever in papal infallibility points to well-known instances of papal fallibility, his Romanist opponent usually takes refuge in the view that such erroneous papal statements were not really *ex cathedrâ*. The Roman apologist is here making use of a two-edged weapon, for when he uses such an argument in these cases he is proving the need of the Roman Church for that which she does not possess—an infallible authority which shall be able to inform the Catholic world

whether any particular papal utterance is fallible or infallible.

When some well-known Papal Bull is proved to be fallible, and refuge is sought in the defence that that particular papal utterance is not *ex cathedrâ*, what are we to say as to the infallibility of the Pope who certainly believed himself to be speaking *ex cathedrâ* ?

It is as impossible for an open-minded student of Church history to believe in papal infallibility as for a modern literary critic to believe in the inerrancy of Holy Scripture.

There is no evidence from the New Testament that Jesus Christ ever promised to St. Peter, or indeed to any of His Apostles, that they should in their teaching be protected from error. St. John's Gospel cites our Lord as promising to His disciples the presence of the Spirit of Truth which should guide them into all truth. But this promise is not unconditional, nor does it operate mechanically.

The operation of the Spirit in the personality of the individual is dependent upon the receptivity and responsiveness of that individual; and the action of the Spirit is not such as to over-ride his rational, moral and spiritual consciousness, but to intensify them. The Spirit is restricted by them because He operates through them. He heightens their powers, we may well believe, but He does not either over-ride or annihilate them. This is the Christian doctrine of Divine Inspiration. The doctrine of papal infallibility, unless so interpreted as to be practically useless, seems to substitute a mechanical operation of the Spirit, more akin to pagan than to Christian conceptions of the mode of the Spirit's action.

The dogma of papal infallibility guarantees results, irrespective of the rational, moral and spiritual qualifications of the individual through whom the Spirit speaks. Hence the dogma of papal infallibility is not only something which

is contradicted by the undoubted facts of Church history, but it also has the misfortune to be in conflict with a sound doctrine of Christian inspiration.

The Roman Catholic dogma of papal infallibility, as taught to-day by the Roman catechist to his pupil, is an interesting example of what is known as arguing in a circle. It is entirely *a priori*. It is argued, that for the salvation of mankind God provided an infallible Gospel, which He entrusted to an infallible Church, over which He appointed as ruler the infallible St. Peter, and his infallible successors. As there is no other church among all the churches of Christendom which claims to be infallible, except the Roman Church, that is conclusive proof that the Roman Church is the infallible Church of Christ.

The validity of this argument must depend upon the soundness of its premises. To a modern historical student of Christian origins they seem

for the most part unverifiable assumptions. Assuming that the Gospel is infallible—by which is meant, no doubt, that it is essentially true—it is only too evident that this Gospel was open to misapprehension and misinterpretation even by the chief of the Apostles.

When St. Paul withstood St. Peter to the face over the question of the terms on which Gentiles should be admitted to the Christian Church, and when St. Peter later came round to St. Paul's view at the Council of Jerusalem, where was St. Peter's infallibility?

It was apparently possessed by St. Paul.

It seems to be the case, that since the dogma of the papal infallibility was promulgated in 1870, there has not been a single undoubted instance of any pope speaking infallibly during the last sixty-four years. This is surely a serious situation for a church which is dependent upon papal infallibility. It is a more serious situation, because more prolonged, than that in Israel when Eli was High Priest:

> "the Word of the Lord was precious in those days for there was no open vision."

Yet during this period of sixty-four years, the popes have made many notable utterances: on the dangers of Liberalism, the invalidity of Anglican Orders, and the errors of Modernism. There is *Lamentabili,* with its condemnation of sixty-five heretical propositions, and there is *Pascendi,* with its terrific condemnation of Modernism. Yet it appears that these papal utterances are not infallible in the eyes of Roman Catholic theologians—Fr. Choupin writes of *Pascendi* that it is

> "the highest act of the pontifical magisterium next to *ex cathedrâ* definition." [1]

It is amazing to a plain man that the Infallible Pontiff of a church, threatened with Modernism, which he declared to be "a collection of all the heresies," should stop short of speaking infallibly when he condemns it. To possess infallibility, and not to use it in such a

[1] Dr. Coulton's *Papal Infallibility,* p. 241.

case, seems to be the situation of a man who, possessed of a loaded gun in the presence of the would-be murderer of his wife and children, is yet unable, or unwilling, to pull the trigger.

The more we read of the arguments advanced by Roman dogmatists on this disputed issue, of when the Pope is or is not speaking infallibly, the more we feel compelled to ask ourselves: Is this solemn trifling, or is it casuistical tergiversation? Dr. Coulton sums up his treatment of the whole subject of papal infallibility with the words:—

"*The Thing is demonstrably untrue.*"

For us, it seems to be as absurd as it is untrue. The Pope's declaration of his own infallibility carries as much assurance for the modern mind as the declaration in the Gilbertian ballad:—

"He said he was the bravest man in France
He said so and he ought to know."

CHAPTER V

THE PAPAL CLAIM TO SUPREMACY

SEPARABLE from, though closely united to, the claim of papal infallibility in doctrine is the papal claim to supremacy of jurisdiction over the whole Christian Church, and, following on that, the Papal claim to supremacy over the State.

Although it is the custom of modern and, indeed, mediæval Roman apologists to base this claim of supremacy of jurisdiction on the words addressed to St. Peter by Christ at Cæsarea Philippi, as recorded in St. Matthew's Gospel, yet New Testament teaching was not primarily responsible for the creation and development of the papal claim to supremacy of jurisdiction. This claim to supremacy of jurisdiction really sprang out of, and followed on, the primacy of the Roman See.

It was the singular lot of the Roman See to be the only episcopal see in the West which could trace its descent to undoubted apostolic establishment, if not to actual apostolic foundation.

The two greatest Apostles of the Primitive Christian Church, St. Peter and St. Paul, had not only lived and taught in Rome, but had actually died as martyrs there. Consequently, when in the second century the apostolic foundation of churches came to be very highly esteemed, and the Apostolic Succession of bishops came to be regarded as the guarantee both of apostolic teaching and of apostolic authority, it was natural that the Church which claimed as its co-founders the two chief Apostles should secure, in consequence, no little prestige in Western Christendom. But, great as was the prestige of apostolic descent, it would not alone have given to the See of Rome the exalted position which it so early secured. These bishops were Bishops of Rome in the days when

Rome was Rome, and not an Italian capital. Rome was then the Metropolis of the ancient world, "Babylon the Great" of the *Apocalypse,* the "Eternal City" of the Latin poets. In those early days the Bishops of Rome were not perhaps great men in Rome in the eyes of the Roman Imperial authorities, but in comparison with the bishops of the Church of God, sojourning in other cities of the Roman Empire, they were pre-eminent. Indeed, the Church of Rome, before it had any monarchical bishop at all, was pre-eminent, as we can see from the way in which St. Ignatius, the Bishop of Antioch (the third city of the Roman empire at this time), addresses it as "having the presidency of love," and as "being worthy of success."

We see this pre-eminence of the Church of Rome manifesting itself even as early as the year 96, when it undertakes (in Clement's Epistle) to regulate the affairs of another apostolic church, the Church

of Corinth. And this, as we have pointed out, before there was any monarchical bishop in Rome (or indeed in Corinth).

But it was not only the apostolic foundation and the locality of the Roman Church which gave her pre-eminence. There were two contributory causes, and those not entirely separable in practice. The Church of Rome did possess in an eminent degree both the Christian spirit and the Roman spirit. The very essence of the Christian spirit is love—practical love—and this was evident in the life of the Roman Church, both at home and abroad.

There is in existence an extract from a letter written by Cornelius, Bishop of Rome (about 251), to Bishop Fabian of Antioch, which indicates the practical Christian charity of the Roman Church in providing locally for 1500 widows and orphans.[1]

But the Church of Rome was no less

[1] Eusebius, *H. E.*, VI. 43.

generous in providing charitable assistance for Christians in need throughout the whole Roman Empire—particularly in the redemption of Christian prisoners from the mines to which they had been sentenced on account of their religion.

The Roman spirit is perhaps most manifest in a sense of law and order, the gift of practical organization, and in the art of administration and government.

> "*Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento, Hae tibi erunt artes.*"

And no unimportant element in the exercise of this art was the spirit of reasonable moderation, the unwillingness to conform practical policy to the claims of forensic logic or dialectical consistency.

In the various disputes which vexed and even divided the Christian Church of the first four centuries, whether the issue was the treatment of the lapsed, or the validity of schismatic Baptism, or the relation of the two natures in Christ to one another, the Church of Rome showed

herself to be eminently judicious. Of course there were exceptions—there always are exceptions, unfortunately—but, on the whole, the line taken was sane and sober, and justified by subsequent experience. In the early ages, at any rate, the verdict of the Church historian must be, that in disputed issues and ecclesiastical crises, the Roman pontiffs exhibited a high degree of political sagacity, united with a spirit of conservatism.

Another feature of the Roman spirit was the gift of leadership combined with a large sense of public responsibility, which extended to the affairs of the whole Christian Church—a readiness to intervene with initiative and courage in cases of disorder and dissension abroad.

Another feature of the Roman spirit is expressed by the Latin term *gravitas*, for which it is hard to find any precise English equivalent—a combination of personal dignity and moral force.

But last, and not least, in the Roman spirit was unflinching courage. One notable incident will illustrate this.

In the middle of the third century some five (or six) successive Bishops of Rome suffered martyrdom for the Faith. What must have been the courage of men who were willing to be elected to so dangerous a post in the face of a declaration by the reigning Emperor (Decius) that he would rather see a new pretender to the Roman Empire than a new Bishop of Rome?

This imperial utterance indicates, not only the great power of the Christian Church within the Roman Empire in the year A.D. 250, but also the leading position which the Bishop of Rome occupied in that Church.

It is of interest to note that a generation earlier Tertullian (*c.* A.D. 200) had satirically described the Bishop of Rome as the "Bishop of Bishops" (*episcopus episcoporum*),[1] and no less significantly

[1] Tertullian, *De Pudicitia*, 1.

as *pontifex maximus*—a title at that time borne only by the Roman emperors themselves, although at a later period officially adopted by the popes.

It was the fate of the Roman State to become imperialized, and a similar fate befell the Roman Church. Our English philosopher Hobbes described the Roman Church of his day as "the Ghost of the deceased Roman Empire sitting crowned on the grave thereof"—a phrase which we suspect may have inspired Gibbon's description of the circumstances which led him to undertake his history of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*

It is exceedingly difficult to decide when the imperialization of the Church of Rome actually began. There is a psychology of corporate institutions, as there is of individuals, but to determine the precise moment at which an individual, or a corporation, first develops what is thereafter his or its dominant characteristic, is impossible. Although by the year

250 the Roman Church had secured the primacy of honour and of leadership in the Christian Church, it had not secured, nor had it sought to secure, a primacy of jurisdiction—that is to say, the exercise of absolute authority over the bishops of foreign churches. I do not ignore the attitude of Pope Victor, in the Easter dispute with the Asiatic bishops, in the last quarter of the second century, nor Pope Stephen's overbearing attitude towards St. Cyprian, in the middle of the third century, on schismatic baptism; but these were exhibitions of personal arrogance rather than of a deliberate imperialist policy. It is only in the rule of Pope Leo the Great (A.D. 444) that we see clearly an imperialist policy operating, and definite claims of jurisdiction asserted over foreign bishops. The supreme example of this is to be found in connection with St. Hilary, Bishop of Arles, and Metropolitan of the Gallican Church.

A dispute had arisen—we need here give no account either of its origin or progress—between Pope Leo and St. Hilary. The upshot of the dispute is relevant. Leo not only maintained his right to administer the affairs of the Gallican churches, and to over-ride the decisions of its Metropolitan, but he did this on the ground of his unique position as Bishop of Rome, and successor of St. Peter, who was himself given by Christ a position of unique authority over the other Apostles. Of course before this other Bishops of Rome had appealed to *St. Matthew* xvi. 18, but not in the way in which Leo the Great did, as "the sole and sufficient justification for his conduct."

Yet against this claim of Leo—if it be taken as being a claim to be the universal Bishop of the Church—must be set a notable protest on that point by his successor, St. Gregory the Great, when John the Faster, the Patriarch of Constantinople, described himself in a pub-

lished document as the Œcumenical or Universal Bishop. Pope Gregory, learning of this, condemned it in no measured language.

> "The title he called foolish, proud, pestiferous, profane, wicked, a diabolical usurpation: the ambition of any who assumed it he compares to that of Lucifer; and intimates that its assumption was a sign of the approach of the king of pride, that is Antichrist. His arguments are such as to preclude himself as well as others from assuming the title, though he implies that if any could claim it it would be St. Peter's successor. Peter, he says, was the first of the apostles, yet neither he nor any of the others would assume the title universal, being all members of the church under one head, Christ. He also states (probably in error) that the title had been offered to the bishop of Rome at the council of Chalcedon, and refused." [1]

Furthermore, Leo the Great secured for his imperialist policy the authority and assistance of the Roman State.

The Emperor Valentinian III issued on

[1] This citation is taken from the article "Gregorius i." Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Vol. II. p. 785.

his behalf an edict, the concluding words of which secured for the imperializing policy of the Roman pontiffs the invincible assistance of the imperial legions :—

> "We decree, by a perpetual edict, that nothing shall be attempted contrary to ancient custom, either by the Gallican bishops or by the bishops of other provinces, without the authority of the venerable man, the pope of the eternal city : but whatever the authority of the apostolic see has sanctioned or shall sanction, let that be held by them and by all for a law : so that if any of the bishops shall neglect, when summoned, to come to the tribunal of the Roman prelate, let him be forced to come by the civil governor of the province." [1]

This Erastianism of Valentinian III was not something entirely new on the part of the Roman emperors. It had originated with the first Christian Emperor, Constantine the Great (272-337). The Roman Emperor, as Pontifex Maximus, had from the outset possessed the right to control religion, even to the extent of

[1] Puller, p. 200.

extirpating religions which were regarded as detrimental to the welfare of the Empire. It was natural enough, therefore, when the Roman emperors became Christian that they should exercise this imperial authority on behalf of the Christian religion, and this they did consistently, with the exception, of course, of Julian the Apostate. Valentinian the Third is therefore not to be blamed in any way for his Erastian action. If blame rests anywhere, it rests on Leo, who was willing to use the imperial forces against his Christian brethren, and for the purpose of compelling them to obey his authority. We need not go into the matter at length. Leo might well excuse himself on the ground that the great Augustine had interpreted Christ's words: "Compel them to come in," as justifying the use of the Roman legions to force the Donatist schismatics into obedience to the authority of the Church.

Imperialism was, so to speak, in the air

at this time: it dominated men's ways of thinking and of acting, and even great Christian bishops were influenced by it; but whether these excuses on behalf of Leo's acceptance of the imperial aid be valid or not, is a merely personal matter. From henceforth, the Roman See invokes without hesitation the armed forces of the State wherever, and whenever, it can secure them to maintain and enforce the authority of the Roman pontiffs. And so, when the Holy Roman Empire was created, there was added to the power of the two keys—the Key of Life and the Key of Death—the power of the two swords—the Sword of the Holy Roman Church and the Sword of the Holy Roman Empire—symbolized, so Roman exegetes taught, by the two swords in St. Luke's Gospel,[1] of which Christ said: "It is enough."

Unfortunately for the Roman Church, those two swords, so history shows, were

[1] *Luke* xxii. 38.

more often used in conflict against each other than in co-operation.

It was this policy of using military force in support of ecclesiastical claims which was responsible for the atrocious wars of religion among Christians which followed one another in dire succession in Europe down almost to the close of the seventeenth century. These wars may be said to have begun with the extirpation of the Albigenses in the early thirteenth century. This Papal crusade was followed by the Hussite wars in Bohemia, the campaigns against the Huguenots in France, the Duke of Alva's atrocities in the Netherlands, the Thirty Years War in Germany, and the last of a ghastly series of massacres of the Waldenses, which inspired Milton's magnificent sonnet:

"Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold:
Even them who kept thy truth so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones,

Forget not: in thy book record their groans
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese, that rolled
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To Heav'n. Their martyred blood and ashes sow
O'er all th' Italian fields, where still doth sway
The triple tyrant: that from these may grow
A hundred fold, who, having learned thy way,
Early may fly the Babylonian woe."

Some might claim that though this recourse to military force to secure obedience to the Roman Church was the outcome of religious fanaticism and intolerance, such methods had not the direct sanction and approval of the Roman pontiffs. The evidence for such an apology is lacking. It was the Roman pontiffs, in many cases, who originated these wars of religion and encouraged them. There is no evidence that they prohibited or disowned them.

A sinister aspect of this papal policy is seen in the claim to depose sovereigns, either by inviting political rivals to invade their territories, or by inviting their subjects to assassinate them. When Pius IV tried to raise an army against Henry VIII, he pronounced the doom of slavery against all Englishmen who should dare to fight for their king.[1]

It was Pope Pius V who not only excommunicated Queen Elizabeth, but but also encouraged her assassination. And it was Pope Sixtus V (the next but one of his successors) who invited that most Catholic of sovereigns Philip II to fit out the Spanish Armada for the purpose of reducing England to obedience to the Papacy.

The horrible massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day in France was nowhere celebrated with greater joy than in Rome, where, at the Pope's command, a *Te Deum* was sung and a medal struck to

[1] See his letter in Burnet's *Refn.*, Pt. I. bk. iii. *Records.* (Ed. Pocock, Vol. IV., p. 328.)

commemorate the event. This recourse to military force is only one aspect of the papal policy, which has never hesitated to use force, and in the most cruel and appalling fashion, to terrorize into subjection those who disowned papal authority.

The story of the Inquisition, which extended its persecuting zeal from Spain to S. America westward, and from Portugal to the coast of Goa eastward, has been treated in so many volumes that there is no need to dilate on its methods here. It is of interest to note that it was introduced into England as a result of direct papal pressure. When Clement V (1311) collaborated with Philip IV of France in the destruction of the Templars, our Edward II objected that the laws of England did not permit the torture of witnesses. But Philip's confessor was also chief inquisitor, and the Pope wrote to Edward that no State law could override that of the Church. He broke down the King's opposition by a bribe and a threat: Edward yielded (to quote his own words)

"through reverence for the Holy See," and the Papal Inquisition was introduced into England for the first and last time until Mary's reign.[1]

In this process of papal imperialization, not only force and cruelty, but also fraud and subtle diplomacy, have played an important part. The Donation of Constantine, a document forged in Rome in the second half of the eighth century, probably in the papal chancellery, professed to record an important gift made by the Emperor Constantine to Pope Silvester. This donation gave to the popes, not only ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the other great patriarchates of the Church and the control of all matters of faith and worship, but by granting to the popes the Imperial Palace in Rome and a large extent of territory in Central Italy, it helped to lay the foundations of the papal temporal power. It also assigned to the

[1] Lea, *Hist. Inquisit.*, Vol. III., p. 260 *n.*, p. 299; Rymer, *Foedera*, ed. 1706, Vol. III., p. 231.

popes an imperial authority, not only over Italy, but also over the provinces, places and towns of the western regions.

It is not here maintained that the popes became temporal sovereigns as the result of the forged Donation of Constantine. The popes were already possessed of temporal sovereignty before the forgery of that document. The territorial gifts of Charlemagne and his ancestors to the popes provided at least a material basis for the temporal power, but there is no doubt that the forged Donation helped to establish the temporal power by giving it (apparently) a formal and indisputable legal title.

It was not till the end of the fifteenth century that the fraud was discovered, but by that time the papacy had secured the right of long possession.

The False Decretals, which appeared about a century after the Donation of Constantine, seem to have originated in a city of the Holy Roman Empire. This

Empire, created to gratify the political ambitions of Charlemagne, and to deliver the Papacy from the control of the Byzantine Emperors, had come into existence in A.D. 800. The False Decretals attempt to do for the papal spiritual supremacy what the forged Donation does for the temporal power.

What was the precise share of the popes, and what the precise share of the monarchs of the great Frankish House of Martel, in creating that Holy Roman Empire is obscure, but the diplomatic skill of the high contracting parties who brought that Empire into existence, and sought to subordinate it to the Papacy, indicates that the popes of that period, if not harmless as doves, were at least as wise as serpents.

The way in which the Papacy, after it had established supremacy over the Church, sought to secure supremacy over the State, constitutes an amazing record. Viewed in the light of the teaching and

example of Christ, it appears to us as an absolute denial of the principles which He inculcated. But viewed as the triumph of a great ideal over contending forces of a lower order, it fills the student with admiration.

The unflinching resolution and extraordinary courage of Hildebrand (Gregory VII, Pope from 1073 to 1085) in his conflict with Henry IV, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, makes us feel that he deserved a better fate than to die as a refugee in Salerno. His last words:—

> "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile"

reflect the conviction which marked his policy. Not less amazing were the political skill and intrepidity of Innocent III (Pope 1198 to 1216), who extended the papal imperial supremacy from Constantinople to England and reduced our English sovereign, King John, to the level of a feudatory who paid annual tribute to his papal overlord. The heights

which that power reached are symbolised vividly by such scenes as Henry II being scourged by the monks of Canterbury at the tomb of St. Thomas à Becket; King John swearing fealty to Pandulph, the papal legate; Henry IV of Germany a penitent in the snow at the gate of the papal castle of Canossa—

> "There, outside the castle gate, for three days, he laid aside all royal garb and, miserably clad in his woollen garments and barefooted, he remained there and implored with much weeping the help and consolation of [Our] Apostolic pity." [1]

With the death of Innocent III the decline in the papal temporal power set in until that combination of tyranny and incompetence was extinguished by the patriots who liberated and united Italy in the nineteenth century.

The revival of the temporal power in the days of the present Pope in the Lilliputian form in which it now exists can hardly alarm the most timid of

[1] *Reg. Greg.*, VII. iv. 12.

Protestants. The late Fr. Hugh Benson, in his *Lord of All*, dreamed of a revival of the papal temporal power which would displace the present royal House of Italy, and extend its authority over atheist France and prostrate Protestant nations: but these things, as Sir Thomas Browne (the author of *Religio Medici*) would remark, are

> "sick men's dreams: dreams out of the ivory gate, and visions before midnight."

CHAPTER VI

ROME AND INTERNATIONALISM

IDEALISTS are attracted by the so-called internationalism of the Church of Rome. They abhor nationalism: they are sure that a perfervid nationalism was the main cause of the Great War, and that the various national churches by their prayers and sermons accentuated and increased the national spirit and the will to victory in that appalling conflict.

But what part did the Church of Rome play on the outbreak of that War?

It did nothing and it said nothing. When, in flagrant contempt of solemn treaty rights, Germany invaded Belgium, it was hoped by lovers of peace and righteousness that Rome would denounce the action, but no Papal Bull condemned the Kaiser. At that time a preacher

before the University of Cambridge dealt with this Roman quiescence in the face of military outrage, and satirically took for his text :

> " There was no small stir among the soldiers what was become of Peter." [1]

Later on, when Rome saw more clearly how the political land lay, she delivered a number of unctuous platitudes, but it was much too late. When she might perhaps have prevented the War by instant and unflinching speech, she had nothing to say. But the significant thing about this incident is that it is not inconsistent with her past behaviour.

There is not, we believe, any Papal Bull promulgated during the last four centuries which has had the purpose of international peace in view. Rome has preached, fomented, and even engaged in, many wars, a number of which are known as wars of religion.[2]

[1] *Acts* xii. 18.

[2] See the volume in the " Cambridge Modern History " entitled *Wars of Religion.*

Can one imagine any more striking and, indeed, effective scene than the Pope and his Cardinals standing between the national armies about to engage in mortal conflict and forbidding them to do so in Christ's name? But no such scene occurs in European history.

The *Pax Romana* was the gift to the world of the pagan Roman Empire, not the gift of the Holy Roman Church. No Pope Pacificus has ever sat on the papal throne.

We think wrongly when we think of Rome as international. She is not international in the meaning of that very modern term. She is imperialist. An empire may include many nationalities, as does Rome, but the spirit of an empire is not necessarily internationalist: it is imperialist.

Rome has abased the national spirit in the interest of Roman imperialism, but she has never abased it in the interests of universal peace. In the Dark Ages Rome

strove to restrain the perpetual warfare of the innumerable petty military chieftains by instituting a Truce of God (*Treuga Dei*). She strove to check the most savage forms of military brutality towards the weak and helpless by her institution and benediction of Orders of Chivalry. The abolition of war she has never attempted, though it is only just to admit that she did attempt the consecration of war. But when waged against heretics she made no attempt to teach the humanization of warfare.

It will perhaps be asserted that Rome has never been nationalist. Such a statement is not entirely accurate. In the fifteenth century, when the popes sought to extend their Italian principate over Italy, the Papacy was nationalist in the Roman fashion, which sought to subordinate all Italy to the Roman obedience, but Rome has never been nationalist in the patriotic or democratic fashion. Imperialism, not nationalism, is her policy.

At present, it is true, the Papacy is working strongly on behalf of Italian nationalism under the leadership of Mussolini, but this papal support of Italian nationalism is quite a novelty in Italian politics and will probably be short-lived. The Roman Church, as Lecky wrote, "is essentially a state within a state, with its frontiers, its policy, and its leaders entirely distinct from those of the nation." So far as Italy is concerned, Rome has been, in not a few cases, on the side of the invaders and oppressors of Italy, whether Lombards, or Normans, or Frenchmen, or Spaniards, or Austrians. Those patriots who, like Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Cavour, strove so nobly for a liberated and united Italy found the Papacy against them.

It might be assumed, *a priori*, that a church comprising so many nationalities would be internationalist in her spirit. That Rome is not so is due to her having allowed the spirit of imperialism, which

is the spirit of domination, to usurp in her character and policy the place of the Christian spirit, which is the spirit of loving service and loyal fellowship.

An essentially Christian church, whether comprising one nationality or many nationalities, will always seek peace and ensue it.

Many of the Reformed Communions, though not international churches but mere "denominations" or "sects," are international in spirit, such as the Quakers and Moravians. This is equally true of such organizations as the Student Christian Movement, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Salvation Army, the Church Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the other great English and American Missionary societies. It is by the encouragement and support of internationalist societies and activities, such as international conferences, within the different national and denominational churches, that we shall

do more to promote international peace than by support of the Imperialism of the Church of Rome.

A very important issue for the future of international peace is whether there is any real prospect of making the Roman Church essentially Christian in her spirit. Whilst her own interests, her own power and prestige, are her chief concern, rather than the welfare of humanity as a whole, the Church of Rome cannot be the arbiter of peace for mankind.

Equally serious for international peace is the question of whether national churches can be christianized to such a degree as to feel that they have as great an obligation to serve the interests of the whole human race as to serve the interests of their own nation. It need hardly be said that they will do this not by neglecting the service of the nation which it is their primary duty to serve in Christ's name, but by making that service of the highest Christian type. If they can so christianize their conception of interests

as to make those interests moral and spiritual, and not economic, political and materialist, then, though national in their membership, they can become universal in their service—but it is a task of immense difficulty.

It is this spirit, national yet universal, terrestrial yet spiritual, which inspires a patriotic poem written during the Great War, by one of our English ambassadors—Sir Cecil Spring-Rice.

"I vow to thee, my country, all earthly things above,
Entire and whole and perfect, the service of my love;
The love that asks no question, the love that stands the test,
That lays upon the altar the dearest and the best;
The love that never falters, the love that pays the price,
The love that makes undaunted the final sacrifice.

"And there's another country, I've heard of long ago,
Most dear to them that love her, most great to them that know;

We may not count her armies, we may not see her King.
Her fortress is a faithful heart, her pride is suffering;
And soul by soul and silently her shining bounds increase,
And her ways are ways of gentleness and all her paths are peace."

There is one thing in which it must be acknowledged that Roman Catholicism, like Mohammedanism, has shown herself superior to the Reformed Churches of England, America, Germany, and Scandinavia. Papal Rome has broken down, as did Pagan Rome, the barriers between races and colours. This is partly due to the fact that the nations of Southern Europe are far less sensitive to colour distinctions than are the races of Northern Europe: it is also due to that proud spirit of Roman imperialism—*civis Romanus sum*—which places all citizens of the empire on an equality of privilege, whatever their race may be: it is also due to the personal and social bonds be-

tween members of the Roman Catholic Church being generally less intimate than in smaller Christian communions. There is safety in numbers—and there is less danger of miscegenation and disadvantageous race mixture in such a community.

In the papal Church the Roman Catholic's relation is not primarily to his brother Catholic, but to his Church and its officials and rites.

The problem of how best to organize the Christian Church in view of its international responsibilities is not easily settled. Christians are no doubt all agreed that the vision in the Book of *The Revelation of St. John the Divine* presents us with the ideal picture of the Church of Christ in the range and variety of her membership.

> "After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the Lamb." [1]

But this great body, to be effective in this

[1] *Rev.* vii. 9.

world, cannot exist merely as an aggregate of individuals. There has to be organization. Some as we know, are strong advocates of the papal system of organization, which is that of an absolutist elective monarchy; others would maintain that the Christian Church is best organized denominationally—that is, organized in groups of like-minded Christians: and these denominations would, of course, be international, as, for instance, are the Methodists, the Baptists, and the Quakers to-day. Others favour organization under territorial or diocesan bishops constitutionally limited in the exercise of their authority and grouped together in national churches holding fraternal relations with one another, the wide world over.

There is much to be said for this third method of Church organization, for while it roots the Church strongly in the national life, it also stresses its international relationships and obligations.

It avoids, on the one hand, the absolutist imperialism of Romanism, and, on the other, the sectarian weakness of denominationalism.

The theme of this chapter has a bearing on the aim and spirit in which foreign missions are conducted by the respective Christian Churches. I venture to introduce this with a personal experience.

> "A Chinese graduate, when speaking to me about Christian Missions in China, said, You know I am a strong nationalist. I believe in China for the Chinese, but I also believe in the foreign missionaries in China—that is, in the Protestant ones. They have done a great service to China by all their work for the education of the Chinese. I don't, however, believe in the Catholic missionaries: they are only there to work, not for China, but for their own Church."

This, I think, is a true distinction between the spirit of the foreign missions of the Reformed Churches and those of the Roman Church. There are no nobler, nor more self-sacrificing men and women than the Roman Catholic missionaries,

but their aim is to extend the sway of the Roman Church in foreign lands ; and for that reason their missions have not the selfless character of the missions of the Reformed Churches, who are not concerned with self-extension or increasing the number of their adherents, but with the welfare of the people among whom they labour, and are prepared, when they have raised them by Christian education, to leave them to carry on their Christian life in complete independence of the home society.

CHAPTER VII

ROME AND RACE

IN our last chapter we place to Rome's credit that, as a religious communion, she has attained in a higher degree than any other Christian church the ideal presented in St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians—the breaking down of the barriers between races and colours.

> "In Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek, barbarian, Scythian, bond or free."

This is partly due to the fact that, in contrast to a number of national churches Rome has no particular interest in race as race. In many of our modern communities a deep concern is beginning to manifest itself for the preservation of the purity of race and of the national culture which is so closely interwoven with it. We see this deep concern in the United

States, in Germany, and in the Australian Commonwealth.

There are indications that we are at the dawn of a new era in which it would seem the enthusiasm for cosmopolitanism and the indifference to racial characteristics which accompanied it are about to be replaced by a revived interest in racial purity and the preservation and development of national characteristics, culture and ideals.

The preciousness of nationality, and the need for its peculiar contribution to human evolution, and the problem of how to conserve and to develop a nationality, so that it does not degenerate into a narrow and selfish nationalism, would seem to have little if any interest at the present time for Rome.

This is partly due to Rome regarding herself as being primarily concerned with the souls of men, and as being concerned with their bodies only in so far as these affect their souls. In this attitude she is undoubtedly right. The Christian

Church views every human being primarily as an immortal spirit. But where Rome is lacking practically, is in her view of the relation of soul and body. Although she is not Manichean theologically, and makes no impassable gulf between spirit and matter, yet practically she seems to be so in the department of race. Moreover, although she is Traducian in her view of the origin of the soul—that is to say, she holds that we derive our souls, like our bodies, from our parents—yet, strangely enough, she seems to pay no regard at all to the kind of bodies, their race and their health, which are united for the purpose of procreation both of bodies and souls.

In short, she is indifferent to the modern science of eugenics, which is intensely concerned with all these problems, and has been called into existence partly, no doubt, by interest in biological results the outcome of the scientific researches of Darwin, Weismann, Mendel and others, but much more by the pressing needs and

terrible dangers which are facing a number of our modern communities as the result of the neglect, not only of the study of eugenic problems, but also of the practical application of these eugenic experiments. Although, as our health statistics show, the victims of congenital syphilis and inherited insanity are disquietingly numerous; although slum areas are created and numbers of children are brought up amid intolerable conditions because of indifference to eugenic knowledge, yet, Gallio-like, Rome cares for none of these things. She only recognizes their existence so far as to condemn the use of contraceptives either for the limitation of the families of healthy parents who are too poor to maintain and educate properly a numerous offspring, or to prevent the birth of children in the case of married people who eugenically ought not to produce descendants at all.

We have said that this is partly due to

Rome viewing human beings primarily as souls and only secondarily as bodies. The modern view of soul and body as a unity is not yet hers, still less does she view the soul as the product of the body. Philosophically, she is right in this refusal. Philosophically, the body cannot be viewed as the cause of the existence of the soul: both soul and body are the products of the creative process and for the theologian, the creative process is initiated and operated by God. God, therefore, not the body, is the true cause of the soul.

But, however we explain it, there does seem to be something to be said for the view that Rome's indifference to eugenics is connected with her holding a view of the relation of soul and body which is not that of modern biologists and psychologists. Another reason for her indifference to eugenics seems to be due to her desire to promote, rather than to restrict, the birth of children who will normally be brought up as Roman Catholics.

Like the Dictators of Italy and Germany, who are seeking to promote the growth of families in both those states in order to assist their own predominance over their national neighbours, so Rome is desirous to promote, by a high birth-rate in Romanist families, the multiplication of her members in order to contribute to her dominance over other ecclesiastical denominations.

In our modern social democratic communities, where the principle of one man one vote, one woman one vote, prevails, it is of no little importance to a religious communion, which is so largely political as the Church of Rome, to secure, through the birth rate, as many adherents as possible. This is certainly one of her reasons, though an unacknowledged one, for her drastic condemnation and prohibition of the use of contraceptives by Roman Catholics: and yet not always unacknowledged.

Mr. Claud Mullins, the Metropolitan

magistrate, in his reliable volume *Marriage, Children and God*, cites the following passages, the first from *A Talk to Catholic Wives* by a Catholic woman doctor :—

> "Our faithful Catholic mothers are doing a wonderful work for God. In time, if wrong methods of birth control continue to prevail amongst non-Catholics, their race will die out, and the Catholic race will prevail, and thus England will again become what it once was, a Catholic country." [1]

And the second, from *Christian Marriages and the Limitation of the Family*:—

> "If the Protestant religions halve their numbers in each succeeding generation by allowing the practice of neo-Malthusianism to go on unchecked, and Catholics increase their numbers through an obedience to the sacred teaching, which forbids all that is contrary to the laws of nature, the Church must prevail simply through natural increase, and Catholic wives will have played their part in the Church's triumph." [2]

Volumes could be filled with Romanist denunciations of the use of contraceptives,

[1] P. 97. [2] By A. J. Anderson.

not simply in these islands and in the United States, but even in India, where the vast increase in the population of that country is rendering the fight with poverty, famine, and disease, one of increasing difficulty for its Government.

The advocates of birth control have indeed an uphill task, as their opponents recognize. Mr. Claud Mullins writes in illustration of this :—

> " In a Roman Catholic pamphlet I find the authors gloating over the ' utter impossibility of ever getting the lowest strata of our population to take the complicated precautions required by the advocates of birth control.' Impossibility is a strong word, but there is much truth in this statement. It is confirmed by the experience of all of us who know the problem at first hand. Lady Barrett says that contraceptive methods ' can only be used effectively by the intelligent members of the community . . . whereas the lowest type of casual labourers . . . and the mentally deficient and criminal classes are unaffected by such teaching.' " [1]

This attitude towards birth control on the

[1] P. 165.

part of Rome is a very serious matter at the present time. In many modern states where the population seems to have reached the limit of subsistence, and where emigration to new countries is no longer possible, an increase in the population means a lowering of the standard of living in that community with all the disadvantages which must ensue from the lowering of such standards.

It is in this matter of eugenics that Rome seems to be coming definitely into acute conflict with our social reformers, who regard the practice of a eugenic policy, one of the factors in which is the judicious use of contraceptives, as an important means in the abolition of poverty and inherited diseases, and as a powerful agent in checking the increase of mental defectives, and the creation of slums. Of course these social reformers regard the use of contraceptives, like the practice of segregation and sterilization, as sub-

ordinate to education in promoting a better civilization, yet although subordinate, they are nevertheless important, and even indispensable factors, in securing human progress.

The Reformed Christian denominations, of which the Church of England is one of the most influential, have taken their stand on the side of the social reformers in these matters. But until Rome, with her immense potential influence, does the same, she must not complain if she be viewed as a very serious obstacle in the way of modern economic and hygienic reform.

No doubt when Rome realizes that whatever she may stand to gain in the increase of adherents from the Romanist birth rate, she stands to lose a greater number of her educated and economically independent members by her drastic prohibition of contraceptives, she will weaken in her opposition—at first in the Confessional and later in the Pulpit.

Until she does so, those who desire social reform and feel it an obligation to strive to promote it, will also feel it an obligation, on the ground of national welfare, to oppose the influence and extension of the Roman Church.

It will be recognized by all students of sociology that to-day even the Reformed Churches are only at the first stages of the eugenic movement. But as the century advances they will be faced with an increasing number of problems arising from it and bearing on it. They will be called upon to make difficult and, as it will seem to some, dangerous decisions, in the interests of the economic and hygienic welfare of their populations. To have in their nation a powerful religious communion efficiently organized and controlled to which all the anti-social back-woodsmen and reactionaries turn for moral and religious support, will lead even our least discerning social reformers to regard Romanism, not

merely as a moral and spiritual opponent, but as a serious obstacle in the pathway of economic and hygienic reform.

Many of our city fathers in our great northern industrial municipalities who could not claim to be social reformers or humanitarian idealists are not a little perturbed to-day by the way in which the prolific and poverty-stricken Irish Roman Catholic immigrants who now constitute the human substratum of these municipalities are "putting up the rates," as their earnings are unequal to the support of their progeny.

It is extremely important for those who sympathize with the ideals and methods of social reform to have clear convictions as to the extreme disadvantages of "mixed marriages."

Young women of modern mind and with a proper interest in social reform can hardly realize beforehand the bondage into which they are entering by contracting marriage with Roman Catholics.

They may become as the result of such marriages veritable Hagars, of whom St. Paul wrote that they "bear children into bondage."[1]

In order to guard against the possible loss of church membership through "mixed marriages," the Roman Church has promulgated the *Ne Temere* decree, according to which mixed marriages "are null and void before God, and the parties are not, in the sight of God, husband and wife" unless married by a Roman Catholic priest.[2] Bishop D. Cohalan states in the Catholic Bulletin :—[3]

> "A mixed marriage contracted in a registry office or before a Protestant minister, according to the present discipline of the Church, is an invalid marriage, and the subsequent so-called married life is in the eyes of the Church *merely concubinage*."

Where the *Ne Temere* decree is operative in a province of the Roman Catholic Church (and, curiously enough, England

[1] *Gal.* iv. 25. [2] *Catholic Directory*, 1933, p. 3.
[3] January, 1917, p. 25.

is one of these provinces), there, unless the partners of a mixed marriage are married with the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, they are not regarded by the Roman Catholic authorities as married at all, nor are their children regarded as legitimate.

Yet, in order that the partners of such a mixed marriage may be married with the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, it is necessary that before the marriage they should sign a solemn declaration that the children of such a marriage shall be brought up as Roman Catholics.

The *Ne Temere* decree is, as a consequence, viewed with such repugnance in certain non-Roman Catholic countries, that the Roman Church has not dared to promulgate that decree in them.

Owing to the power of intimidation which this decree places in the hands of the Roman Catholic authorities in the case of those mixed marriages which have not been solemnized by the Roman

Church, the Parliament of New Zealand has passed a statute by which anyone who shall dare to assert, or even to suggest, that those who are legally married according to the laws of that country are not rightfully man and wife, shall be liable to a fine of £100.

In New South Wales the Legislative Assembly met the menace of the *Ne Temere* decree by passing the Marriage Amending Bill in 1925, which made it an offence to declare that persons lawfully married are not truly and sufficiently married. The penalty for such an offence is a fine of £100 or a year's imprisonment, or both fine and imprisonment.[1]

[1] See further a pamphlet *Rome and Mixed Marriages*, by the Rev. F. E. Watson. Published by the Edinburgh Protestant Society, 50 South Bridge, Edinburgh. (Price twopence.)

CHAPTER VIII

ROME AND POLITICS

IT is one of the perils of the Church of Christ that men of this world are ever on the outlook to use her for the advancement of their mundane interests. Religious passions and prejudices offer tempting opportunities for advancing the partisan interests of politicians, and not less the personal interests of ecclesiatics who are the means of giving the Church's benediction to the programme of a powerful political party.

When Disraeli declared publicly at Oxford after the Huxley-Wilberforce conflict that he was "on the side of the angels," he was providing a humorous example of the political adept's readiness to use religious controversy for political ends. There are a number of people

to-day who are entering the Roman Church, not for religious reasons, but for social and political reasons. They declare that since the clergy of the English Church and Dissenting Ministers are all turning Socialist, the Roman Church is the only religious bulwark against revolution, communism, and anarchy in this country.

They argue, furthermore, that however much the Roman Church may seem at times to favour communism, in the end she always comes down solidly on the side of social and political conservatism, unless the Conservatives are definitely anti-Romanists.

These political partizans of Rome have not secured as sound an investment as they believe. It is a mistake to suppose that, because Mr. Hilaire Belloc and Mr. G. K. Chesterton and a few great Roman Catholic noblemen to-day in England are strong Conservatives, the Church of Rome is necessarily Conservative politic-

ally. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Ireland she was anti-Conservative. No countries have suffered from more revolutions than Central and South America, yet in no part of the world is the Roman Church stronger than in Spanish and Portuguese America.

Aristotle defined man as "a political animal," and the Church of Rome may be defined in the same way. She is intensely political. She is always ready to take part in political intrigue, and the Jesuits are noted for their political adroitness. It is this which, at one time or another, has led to their expulsion from most civilized communities.

But while Rome is dominantly a political organization, she is not a factor which makes for social stability, nor is she a trustworthy political ally. Rome is on the side of political stability only when it suits her in her lust of dominance to be so, and she is loyal to her political allies only so long as they subserve her purpose.

There is another sinister aspect of Roman political activity, and one which those who are joining Rome for political reasons may do well to weigh. Rome, possibly owing to her diplomatic methods and the repulsion aroused in modern minds by the prostitution of spiritual privileges for political purposes, possesses the unhappy knack of arousing an intensity of opposition, indeed of detestation, in the hearts of her political opponents, which has added greatly to the bitterness of political strife.

The late Bishop Percival of Hereford, a great English educationalist, pointed out to me some years ago that it made for the stability of a State when the religious divisions in it cut across its political divisions, as was for the most part the case in England, but that nothing could be more dangerous for the stability of a State than that the religious divisions in it should coincide with the political divisions. This is the danger which those

invite who join a religious communion for social and political reasons.

It is as a danger not as a buttress to political and social stability, that the acute observer of political institutions in Western Europe will view the Church of Rome. And we would venture to add that every important political cause which the Church of Rome has espoused in the last four hundred years has, in the end, been defeated.

The only time when the Church of Rome is seen at her best politically is when she is subordinate. As soon as she becomes politically ascendant, she becomes arrogant, tyrannical and intolerant and, we may add, detested.

The Church of Rome is in this respect like the great Dr. Johnson, of whom Mrs. Piozzi complained that

> "He grew upon indulgence, until he became intolerable."

Every country in Europe has had this experience of Rome and has revolted against it. Spain is the last in the series.

It is but fair to add that if most civilized people were offered the choice between the Red Tyranny and the Black Tyranny—between the Bolshevist and the Romanist—they would choose the Romanist, but in most countries there is a third option—constitutional freedom which knows itself to be in need of neither Pope nor Dictator. It is open to question whether the Papacy has ever espoused in any European country the cause of constitutional freedom against tyranny. Certainly not in France, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Austro-Hungary. Rome has always been for the tyrants and the tyrants have lost.

Mazzini's indictment of the Papacy, in the name of a world-wide, intellectual, moral, and spiritual liberation, is the classic expression of this antithesis—the protest of Zion against Babylon.[1]

Rome, it is true, survives, but less and less as a political power, and her political allies perish.

[1] Everyman's Library. *Mazzini's Essays* (Dent and Co.).

In religion, Rome may be an idealist, but in politics she is a realist and an opportunist. She is ever ready to use any who can serve her, and when they have lost the power to be of use, she abandons them and cynically labels them bad Catholics.

Those who enter the Roman ranks to assist thereby a political cause of which they are supporters deserve at the hands of the greatest of political opportunists the fate which awaits them.

> "Lo, thou trustest in the staff of this broken reed, Egypt, upon which if a man lean it shall pierce his hand: such is Pharaoh King of Egypt unto all who trust in him." [1]

We may believe in individualism or we may believe in communism; we may believe in democracy or we may believe in aristocracy, and still be Christians, but if we become members of the Roman Church, with the purpose of promoting a political programme or securing social

[1] 2 *Kings* xviii. 21.

stability, we are, in the light of history, entering on a dangerous and detrimental undertaking.

We can promote our political campaigns and social ideals by many honourable and effective means, but to join the Church of Rome for that purpose is not one of them.

Ever since the Tudor Reformation, Rome has been a nuisance in English politics. Lord Howard of Effingham, who commanded the English fleet which defeated the Spanish Armada, is an example of the loyal service which individual British Roman Catholics have given to the national cause. On the other hand, wherever large Roman communities have existed within the British State, at home or abroad, they have, in contrast to other religious denominations, been a divisive, and even a disloyal element in our national life. Our troubles with the Roman Catholics in Ireland had not yet ended before our troubles with Roman

Catholics in Malta began, and serious difficulties with our Roman Catholic population in Great Britain are certainly on the horizon. Since the middle of the eighteenth century the Roman Catholic population of England has increased from probably less than one hundred thousand to some four millions. The situation in West Scotland, where the immigrant Roman Catholic population (Irish and Polish) promises to outnumber the native Protestant population in a few decades, is even more threatening.

In this connection, the articles of Mr. Gair on "The Irish Immigration Question" [1] deserve serious attention.

Dr. Dearmer, Canon of Westminster, in an outspoken and arresting introduction to Dr. Stopes' book,[2] writes:—

> "Slowly and reluctantly I have been forced to the conclusion that the Roman

[1] See the *Liverpool Review* of 1934 (January and following numbers), articles by G. R. Gair, F.R.A.I., M.S.A.A.

[2] *Roman Catholic Methods of Birth Control.*

> Catholic Church is not so much a religious community as a great political machine, endeavouring to control our newspapers and other sources of information, and to acquire a dominating position, through a small but highly organized minority vote, over the affairs of Great Britain . . . it is of great importance that some of the facts mentioned in this book should be widely known. The overflowing of the Irish Romanist population is produced at the cost of much pain, disease and death among the women. It is not possible any longer to doubt that an attempt is being made, through immigration from Southern Ireland, gradually to drive the English out of England and the Scots out of Scotland."

Romanist communities in the British Empire—or rather in the British Commonwealth of nations—constitute politically an *imperium in imperio*. In times of political crisis they provide the means for their ecclesiastical heads to intervene in politics and to intimidate political leaders by the threat of a "block vote" against them. A block vote might, where a compact religious community constitutes ten per cent. of the population,

turn the scale in a hardly contested General Election. Such interference on the part of religious corporations is abhorrent to our British political institutions, as it militates against the free decision of the electorate. Neither priests nor politics are bettered by these activities. England has been almost entirely unhampered by the priest in politics for the last two centuries, but all support given to the Church of Rome in this country is assisting to bring about a situation in which ecclesiastical diplomacy will play its undesirable *rôle* in national politics.

A weighty reason for the maintenance of the Established Churches of England and Scotland is, that whilst establishment strengthens the influence of the Christian religion on the national life, it also tends to preclude the creation of clericalist political parties.

CHAPTER IX

THE ROMAN CULTUS

WORSHIP in the Church of Rome falls roughly into two classes: One class consists of primitive Christian worship derived from the Apostolic Church; the other class consists of a vast mass of superstitious accretions.

On one occasion, when Dean Inge was informed that Catholicism was as old as Christianity, he replied "Yes, and a great deal older." As a great student of pagan antiquity, he was quick to recognize in many Roman Catholic rites and ceremonies, as well as in the religious beliefs which underlie them, their pagan origin.

Charles Reade, a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, whose historical novel, *The Cloister and the Hearth*, is worthy

to rank with Charles Kingsley's *Westward Ho*, Thackeray's *Esmond* and the masterpieces of Sir Walter Scott, devotes a chapter (lxxiv) to the pagan origin of many Roman Catholic ceremonies and customs. Fra Colonna, a Roman Monk, steeped in the learning of the Renaissance, speaks as follows :—

"Their vulgar were polytheists: and what are ours? We have not invented 'invocation of the saints.' Our *sancti* anwers to their *Daemones* and *Divi*, and the heathen used to pray their *Divi* or deified mortals to intercede with the higher divinity; but the ruder minds among them, incapable of nice distinctions, worshipped those lesser gods they should have but invoked. And so do the mob of Christians in our day, following the heathen vulgar by unbroken tradition. For in holy writ is no polytheism of any sort or kind.

"We have not invented so much as a form, or variety, of polytheism. The pagan vulgar worshipped all sorts of deified mortals, and each had his favourite, to whom he prayed ten times for once to the Omnipotent. Our vulgar worship canonized mortals, and each has his favourite, to whom he prays ten times for once to God. Call you

that invention? Invention is confined to the East. Among the ancient vulgar only the mariners were monotheists: they worshipped Venus: called her *Stella maris*, and *Regina caelorum*. Among our vulgar only the mariners are monotheists: they worship the Virgin Mary, and call her the 'Star of the Sea,' and the 'Queen of Heaven.' Call you theirs a new religion? An old doublet with a new button. Our vulgar make images, and adore them, which is absurd; for adoration is the homage due from a creature to its creator: now here man is the creator: so the statues ought to worship him, and would, if they had brains enough to justify a rat in worshipping *them*. But even this abuse, though childish enough to be modern, is ancient. The pagan vulgar in these parts made their images, then knelt before them, adorned them with flowers, offered incense to them, lighted tapers before them, carried them in procession, and made pilgrimages to them, just to the smallest tittle as we their imitators do . . . such are the tutelary images of most great Italian towns. I have examined nineteen of them and made draughts of them. If they came from the sky, our worst sculptors are our angels. But my mind is easy on that score. Ungainly statue, or villanous daub fell never yet from heaven to smuggle the bread out of capable workmen's mouths. All this is

Pagan, and arose thus. The Trojans had oriental imaginations, and feigned that their *Palladium*, a wooden statue three cubits long, fell down from heaven. The Greeks took this fib home among the spoils of Troy, and soon it rained statues on all the Grecian cities, and their Latin apes. And one of these Palladia gave St. Paul trouble at Ephesus: 'twas a statue of Diana that fell down from Jupiter: *credat qui credere possit*. . . .

"This is the story of Numa's shield, revived by theologians with an itch for fiction, but no talent that way: not being orientals. The *ancile*, or sacred shield of Numa hung lustrous in the air over this very city, till that pious prince took it down and hung it in the temple of Jupiter. . . . The *Bocca della Verità* passes for a statue of the Virgin, and convicted a woman of perjury the other day: it is in reality an image of the goddess Rhea, and the modern figment is one of its ancient traditions. . . .

"But indeed we owe all our *Palladiuncula*, and all our speaking, nodding, winking, sweating, bleeding statues, to these poor abused heathens: . . . Of all our marks and dents made in stone by soft substances, this saint's knee, and that saint's finger, and t'other's head, the original is heathen. . . .

"Kissing of images, and the Pope's toe, is Eastern Paganism. The Egyptians had it

of the Assyrians, the Greeks of the Egyptians, the Romans of the Greeks, and we of the Romans, whose *Pontifex Maximus* had his toe kissed under the Empire. The Druids kissed their High Priest's toe a thousand years B.C. . . . The lower parts of the statue we call Peter are Jupiter. The toe is sore worn, but not all by Christian mouths. The heathen vulgar laid their lips there first, for many a year. . . .

"Our incense is Oriental, Roman Pagan; and the early Fathers of the Church regarded it with superstitious horror, and died for refusing to handle it. Our holy water is Pagan, and all its uses. See, here is a Pagan *aspersorium*. Could you tell it from one of ours? It stood in the same part of their temples, and was used in ordinary worship as ours, and in extraordinary purifications. They called it *Aqua lustralis*. Their vulgar, like ours, thought drops of it falling on the body would wash out sin; and their men of sense, like ours, smiled or sighed at such credulity. . . .

"We celebrate the miraculous Conception of the Virgin on the 2nd of February. The old Romans celebrated the miraculous Conception of Juno on the 2nd of February. Our feast of All Souls is on the 2nd of November. The *Festum Dei Mortis* was on the 2nd of November. . . . Did we discover Purgatory? On the contrary, all we

really know about it is from two treatises of Plato, the *Gorgias* and the *Phaedo*, and the sixth book of Virgil's *Aeneid* . . . the doctrine is Eastern, and much older than Plato. . . . Our prayers for the dead came from Asia with Aeneas. Ovid tells, that when he prayed for the soul of Anchises, the custom was strange in Italy.

Hunc morem Aeneas, pietatis idoneus auctor
Attulit in terras, juste Latine, tuas.

". . . Our numerous altars in one church are heathen: the Jews, who are monotheists, have but one altar in a church. But the Pagans had many, being polytheists. In the temple of Paphian Venus were a hundred of them. '*Centumque Sabaeo thure calent arae.*' Our altars and our hundred lights around St. Peter's tomb are Pagan. '*Centum aras posuit vigilemque sacraverat ignem.*' We invent nothing, not even numerically. Our very Devil is the god Pan: horns and hoofs and all: but blackened. For we cannot draw: we can but daub the figures of Antiquity with a little sorry paint or soot. Our Moses hath stolen the horns of Ammon: our Wolfgang the hook of Saturn: and Janus bore the keys of heaven before St. Peter. All our really old Italian bronzes of the Virgin and Child are Venuses and Cupids. . . . Monks and hermits were in the East long before Moses, and neither

old Greece nor Rome was ever without them. . . .

"What habit is lovelier than the vestments of our priests? Well, we owe them all to Numa Pompilius, except the girdle and the stole, which are judaical. As for the amice and the albe, they retain the very names they bore in Numa's day. The 'pelt' worn by the canons comes from primeval Paganism. 'Tis a relic of those rude times when the sacrificing priest wore the skins of the beasts with the fur outward. . . . Black gown . . . girdle and cowl . . . all three [come] from Pagan ladies . . . the tonsure is as Pagan as the Muses. . . . The Brahmins wore it a few thousand years ere that. From them it came through the Assyrians to the priests of Isis in Egypt, and afterwards of Serapis at Athens."

Had Charles Reade sat at the feet of Dr. Marrett, our leading anthropologist in the University of Oxford, he might have added many more examples of pagan survivals in Roman Catholic worship. But it was not his good fortune to do so, for *The Cloister and the Hearth* was published in 1861, before Dr. Marrett was born. We have no desire to speak harshly

of this paganized Christianity. The process of paganization was partly unconscious and partly deliberate. When deliberate, it had the excellent motive of winning the pagans to Christianity by permitting them, as far as possible, to retain their pagan customs and pagan sanctuaries in the practice of their new religion, as is advocated by St. Gregory the Great in his letter of advice to Augustine of Canterbury. Unfortunately, in a number of instances, it was Christianity that was paganized by this process, and not paganism that was Christianized.

There is no doubt that this large pagan admixture did promote the rapid extension of Christianity in the Roman Empire; as the late Alfred Fawkes, himself for many years a Roman Catholic priest, used dryly to remark: "A religion to be popular must be corrupt." And he was fond of supplementing this reflection by a citation from Prof. Rudolf Sohm, an ardent Protestant, "The

natural man is a born Catholic." Yet we are here faced by the even more profound reflection of Prof. Adolf von Harnack :—

> " What is remarkable about the religion of Jesus Christ, is not what he included in it, but what he excluded from it."

If this be so, there is a serious obligation on the part of those who profess and call themselves Christian to maintain the purity of the Christian religion. And even though tempted by kindly consideration for the " charcoal-burners," to stand fast against the admission of superstitious accretions which tend to obscure and corrupt the primal simplicity and purity of Christian worship.

In no puritan fashion are we here protesting against the consecration of art in the service of Christian worship, but against the introduction of elements into that worship which are not only in many cases what our English Reformers stigmatized as " dark and dumb " ceremonies,

but which actually pervert the truth of Christ's Gospel. For instance, the practice based on the belief that uttering so many *Paters* or *Aves* before a particular sacred statue can reduce by a specified number of days a soul's discipline in purgatory.

To decide in certain cases whether a practice be superstitious or not is far from easy; for instance, the making of the Sign of the Cross affords a good example of this. It is Christian when in Baptism it is used to symbolize the dedication of the baptized person to the service of the Crucified; but it is superstitious when it is made to frighten away demons, or to ward off the influence of the evil eye.

What, however, must seem to many to be the most disastrous and detrimental corruption of Christian worship in the Roman Church is not derived directly from Paganism; but is the product of the perversion of Christian teaching. We

have an example of this in the adoration of the Host, or consecrated wafer, in the service of the Mass. Of course it will be argued that the adoration of the consecrated Host is not the worship of a material substance, because by the miraculous action of the consecrating priest the natural substance of that wafer has been transubstantiated into the Body and Blood of Christ. This claim for the reality of the miracle of the Mass has not more justification from Scripture than it has from reason. Scripture nowhere teaches that any miracle of this kind is wrought in what the early Church described as "the breaking of bread" or "the Lord's supper." And the philosophy which taught in the Middle Ages that it was possible to change the "substance" (or essence) of a thing and to leave the "accidence" (that is its form, shape, colour) unchanged is utterly discredited by scientific and philosophical thinkers to-day. If no miracle takes

place at the Mass, then the worship of the consecrated wafer is idolatry.

Let it be granted that what is called the sense of the supernatural in its awe and solemnity is nowhere more present than at the Roman Mass, but that is no proof that the worship is Christian. The *tremendum mysterium fascinans* which constitutes the numinous element in primitive religion was at least as overwhelming when the Aztec priest, on the apex of the Teocalli of Tenochtitlan, held up to Quetzalcohuatl the quivering heart of a human victim, as it is when the celebrant in the Roman Mass elevates the host. But we know that devoted Jesuit missionaries and zealous Spanish soldiers did not allow the numinous sense created by the rites of the Aztec religion to deter them from stamping it out. It is more than doubtful whether this numinous or supernatural awe is at all an essential constituent of Christian worship. St. John writes :—

> "There is no fear in love: but perfect love casteth out fear: because fear hath torment. He that feareth is not made perfect in love." [1]

A divine worship which awakens and develops this sense of fear, there is good reason to believe, is not Christian, but sub-Christian. The relation of the Christian to God is that of a child to his parent, not of a slave to his master or a subject to his King, and certainly not that of a primitive man to his deity.

One cannot but feel intense repugnance to condemning sincere religious worship, however mistaken it may be; but, on the other hand, one cannot but feel an even more intense repugnance to the encouragement and defence of this kind of worship, however ancient, and however popular, by those who claim to speak and lead in Christ's name. Christ said to the Tempter: "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and Him only shalt thou serve." [2] And when St. John, the Seer

[1] 1 *John* iv. 18. [2] *Mt.* iv. 10. *Luke* iv. 8.

of the Apocalypse, was about to worship the angel who had unveiled to him the secrets of the future, the angel rebuked him twice with the words :—

> "See thou do it not. . . . Worship God." [1]

There is ever present an almost overwhelming tendency for religious reverence to degenerate into idolatrous superstition. Roman casuists, by making subtle distinctions in degrees of religious reverence, have sought to justify these idolatrous and polytheistic practices which have crept into their religion, but unfortunately, by their subtleties they have achieved little more than the obliteration of the profound difference which ought to separate true Christian worship from pagan superstition.

Besides the evil effects of superstition on him who practises it, in that it gives him wrong convictions as to the Divine Nature and so as to the Divine Will, there

[1] *Rev.* xix. 10, xxii. 9.

is the evil effect which it has upon him who observes these superstitious rites. The tendency of the observer of these superstitions will be either to adopt them, or else, being repelled by them, to regard the Christian religion as idolatrous and superstitious, and so to reject the claims of Christ's religion upon his loyalty and obedience. It is one of the sinister results of Romanist superstition that there is bred in every Roman Catholic country, except where Romanism is strong enough to extirpate it by force, a bitter and detrimental secularism. As a consequence, in Roman Catholic countries, we have the unhappy spectacle of superstition in conflict with secularism; and no place at all for that form of Christian religion which is as enlightened as it is reverent, and is as opposed to superstition as it is opposed to secularism.

CHAPTER X

THE LURE OF ROME

No one who knows anything about Rome can deny her fascination. Practical evidence of this fascination is furnished by the fact that, according to our latest statistics, some 15,000 converts in Great Britain annually enter the Roman Communion.[1]

[1] "Between 1919 and 1923, we are told, 85,000 Anglicans were converted to Rome, and the number is increasing" (*Times Literary Supplement*, Dec. 4, 1930, p. 1028).

Conversions to Roman Catholicism in England and Wales.

1912	6,511	1923	12,796
1913	7,184	1924	12,355
1914	9,034	1925	11,948
1915	9,367	1926	11,714
1916	8,501	1927	12,065
1917	9,018	1928	12,372
1918	9,402	1929	12,075
1919	10,592	1930	11,980
1920	12,621	1931	12,162
1921	11,621	1932	12,288
1922	12,406		
		Total	215,724

The lure of Rome is compounded of many elements. There is her antiquity going back to the dawn of our era. There is her infinite variety of historic interest. She not only cradled the Christian Church of the West, but she has been the Mother and Mistress of our Western civilization until the Reformation deprived her of her domination over the Nordic nations. There is her immense extent: she exists throughout the whole habitable world; men of every race own her authority; her adherents far exceed in number the adherents of all the other churches of Christendom put together.

Then there is the more subtle lure of her beauty. Our great arts, music, architecture, painting, and perhaps even sculpture, dedicated to her service, were developed under her inspiration and patronage, to heights which some would judge as transcending even the creations of Greece.

Yet these things, as used by apologists

for Rome, are apt to seem greater than they really are. It is true the antiquity of Mother Rome is greater than that of her daughters, certainly greater than the Christianity of these islands, although that is no mushroom growth, for Tertullian, writing about A.D. 200, gives good reason to believe that there were Christians in Britain in his day, and we know that bishops of York, London, and Lincoln attended the Council of Arles in A.D. 314.

The first thing that Augustine, St. Gregory's missionary to England, did, after his interview with the King of Kent, was to renovate and restore, for Divine worship, the ancient Christian church of St. Martin in Canterbury.

When, to-day, we stress the antiquity of the Christian Church, we are indulging in no profane novelty; for, curiously enough, Christians have done this almost from the beginning. Hermas, a brother of Pope Pius I, writing probably before the middle of the second century, depicts the Church in his *Pastor* as an old woman.

And yet she had then been in existence little more than a hundred years. The Church is now nearly 2,000 years old; yet what is that? A very small fragment in the long history of the human race. And, what is more, quite possibly, a very small fragment even of the age which the Church will herself attain.

We lose our sense of proportion and misuse our imagination when we are overwhelmed by the historic antiquity of the Church of Rome. Our imagination is put to nobler use when we employ it to dwell upon the potentialities and victories of the future, rather than upon the vicissitudes and triumphs of the past.

As for art and the Church of Rome, whatever art has owed to that Church—and it has been much—it ought to be frankly realized that art is no longer dependent for inspiration upon that Church, nor has it been for many years.[1]

[1] This is brought out in *The Monastic Craftsman*, by R. E. Swartwout (1933).

Art needs the inspiration of religion, and the inspiration of the highest form of religion. It is not the Church of Rome which to-day can best furnish that inspiration; and modern art within the Roman Church produces an unfavourable impression compared with art as it is developing outside Rome and independently of it. Indeed, Rome is no longer an artist—a creator of the beautiful—she is the curator of an art museum.

Yet Rome has still a more profound attraction than that of beauty and antiquity. It is the attraction of holiness, of unflinching courage, of consecrated devotion to her cause. She has been as Olympian in her virtues as in her vices. No Church, indeed no existing corporation, has been so corrupt, so avaricious, so treacherous, so cruel, so unscrupulous, so intolerant, as the Church of Rome in the course of her long history, and yet no Church has possessed a more wonderful array of saints, martyrs, and mystics

than are to be found in her ranks. By her practice of the canonization of the saints, she has commemorated their virtues. By her practice of the invocation of the saints, she has perpetuated their influence. In those many Christian communions where canonisation and invocation do not prevail, their saints are forgotten.

"Full many a gem of purest ray serene
The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear:
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air."

Rome has indeed made much of her saints. She may almost be said to have exploited them, and not least for propagandist and financial purposes.

What a source of revenue it was for a monastery to possess the relics of a saint in the Middle Ages! the bones of "the holie blissful martyr" St. Thomas made the Monastery of Canterbury rich beyond the dreams of avarice. Nevertheless, this is to Rome's credit—that she never

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fails to honour and to remember those who have been devoted to her cause, as she understands it, and she has reaped, and is reaping, the reward of those who are not unmindful of benefits.

It is true that there were many others in her ranks no less holy, no less devoted, but who did not see eye to eye with her in her policy and practice. And these she extirpated from her communion and has obliterated from her memory. Had she hearkened to them, had she been inspired by them, they would have made her quite other than what she is, even as Jesus would have done by Jerusalem, but she would not.

Above all, there is the attractive power of Rome's tremendous religious authority, culminating in the claim to moral and spiritual infallibility which leads her to declare that outside the Holy Roman Church there is no salvation. Claims which arm the reigning Roman pontiff with the Power of the Keys, the author-

ity to admit to eternal life or to sentence to eternal death; Papal decrees which are ratified by God Himself.

It is not surprising that conscience-stricken mortals, possessing as little education as moral courage, should abase themselves before these claims. If these claims of Rome be true, none but a madman would refuse to yield to them. Even if they be false, it is argued, "we shall probably have done ourselves no harm by submitting to them." The risks of disobedience are so overwhelming that the courage of those who first dared to deny these Papal claims, and face the consequences, was really stupendous. Men of less heroism would have been tempted to take the line of that gallant naval officer, the account of whose conversion is contained in *Roads to Rome*; who, being convinced by a fellow-naval officer, a devoted Roman Catholic, that Rome was the only safe religion to die in, promptly became a Roman Catholic.

Those who have studied such books as W. E. H. Lecky's *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe*; G. G. Coulton's *Romanism and Truth* (Vols. I. and II.), *Papal Infallibility*; H. C. Lea's *Superstition and Force, Sacerdotal Celibacy, A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages,* and George Salmon's *Infallibility of the Church,* will have no difficulty in recognizing the superficial and unsubstantial character of these Roman claims.

But how many Roman converts have sufficient leisure or learning to benefit from such a course of reading? Simple and ignorant people are beguiled by assurance. Men of authoritative manner and strident tones impress them. The authority which is backed by millions of adherents, they are convinced, must needs be right. They do not seem to realize that, in many cases, truth is not on the side of the large battalions, and that stentorian declarations may cloak falsehood.

It was not in the storm, or in the fire, or in the earthquake, that the prophet recognized the Divine utterance: it was when he heard the still small voice speaking in, and to, his moral and spiritual consciousness that he wrapped his face in his mantle. God's revelation comes, so Isaiah teaches, not like the turgid tide of the Euphrates, but as the waters of Shiloah's Spring, which trickled softly.

For people of wide culture, for whom Rome's claims of lordship over the dim mysterious realms of the dead, and the unknown spiritual future, carry but little weight, and who receive Rome's declarations of moral and spiritual infallibility *cum grano salis*, she is able to have no little power of attraction—but on another plane.

We have pointed out the fallacious character of her internationalism, the absurdity of regarding her as a great pacific factor in political strifes, and the misconception which judges her to be an

essential element in social stability. But she has yet another attraction. She appears to many as the only secure support of the traditional Christian morality, especially sexual morality.

If a comparison be instituted between Bolshevism and Romanism, in these matters unquestionably the advantage lies with Rome as the champion of the institutions of Christian marriage and the family. But if a comparison be instituted between Rome and the Reformed churches, the advantage is not on the Roman side, although often assumed to be so.

It is quite true that to-day Rome does not permit absolute divorce in the case of what she regards as a validly contracted marriage,[1] but that does not necessarily

[1] Dr. Coulton, in a review in *The Nation and Athenæum*, April 30, 1927 (p. 119), commenting on Mr. Hilaire Belloc's statement in his *History of England* that "Divorce was an idea abhorrent" to the Roman Church—writes :—

"In the sense in which an ordinary reader would take these words, they are very far from the truth. So

strengthen the institution of Christian marriage, in public opinion. The refusal to allow divorce in cases of infidelity, insanity, venereal disease, a sentence of life-long imprisonment, unnatural vice,

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common was the *fact* of divorce in the Middle Ages, under different pretexts, that even the greatest canon lawyers may be found using the *word* itself, as a matter of course. Bishop Jonas of Orleans [960] complained that 'many' folk put away their wives when weary of them. St. Anselm [1100] mourns to hear that, in Ireland, men exchange wives 'as publicly and freely as horses.' Petrus Cantor, one of the glories of the University of Paris [1190], writes, 'for money's sake, at our own choice, we [clergy] join or separate whom we will.' The still greater Ivo of Chartres [1110] had complained that such abuses turned the sacrament of matrimony into a laughing-stock for the lay-folk. The Dominican Bromyard [1380] describes the abuses in detail, and sums up, 'nowadays, when a wife displeases, or another woman is coveted, then a divorce is procured'—*divortium procuratur*. The contemporary poem of 'Piers Plowman' tells the same tale; a man may get rid of his wife by giving the judge a fur cloak; Church lawyers 'make and unmake matrimony for money.' Erasmus writes emphatically on this subject of 'so many unhappy divorces'; he thinks it would be better if the State took this matter away from the Church and guaranteed marriage as securely as other contracts. In 1530, Pope Clement VII. proposed to Henry VIII. that he should be allowed two wives simultaneously; his predecessor Eugenius IV., in 1437, had actually given a similar permission to Henry IV. of Castile. These last two instances have been brought into prominence by Professor Pollard."

attempted murder, prolonged desertion, does not necessarily strengthen the institution of Christian marriage nor increase the regard in which it should be held in the modern world. Indeed, what seems to many to be a harsh and unreasonable refusal to allow an absolute divorce with the right to re-marry in such cases as those we have cited, will, as public attention is increasingly concentrated on them, weaken undoubtedly the regard for Christian marriage. This has most certainly occurred, where, under the influence of ecclesiastical conservatism, the marriage laws have been unreformed—particularly in those cases where the welfare of the children has in some measure been sacrificed to the refusal to dissolve the marriage.

I cannot deal at length here with the scandals which have arisen from the Roman Catholic practice of nullifying marriages in cases where a divorce could not have been obtained in our English law courts. This scandal is very great,

and when in certain cases the public have become acquainted with the circumstance of these nullifications of marriage, it is the combination of casuistry and hypocrisy which amazes them most; and in the class of the "amazed" we must include very many of the Roman Catholic laity themselves who dare not protest openly.

We doubt whether the marriage of a Romanist with a non-Romanist is ever secure should the Romanist partner desire a nullification of the marriage and have sufficient influence to obtain it.

Sexual relations seem to be exploited, as religious fears are exploited, in the interests of papal domination.

There is no proof that Christian monogamy and the institution of the family are less respected and maintained in countries like Scotland and Sweden which are adherents of Reformed churches, which offer no rigorous objection to reasonable divorce, than in Roman Catholic countries, like Italy and the Argentine.

In Roman Catholic countries where divorce is impossible and nullification is precarious, conjugal infidelity prevails and is condoned, to a degree unknown in countries where the right of divorce is sanctioned, not merely by the State, but by Christian public opinion.

It is no more just to condemn Protestantism for the facility with which divorces are obtainable in some of the States of the great American Republic than it is to condemn Protestantism for the large number of murders which are committed in that country without any penalty whatsoever being exacted from the murderers. A vast country like the United States, which has attempted within a very short period to incorporate into its civilization congeries of different nationalities and religions, must not be judged by the same standards as we may rightly apply to homogeneous European states. The United States of America, more than any other great community to-day, is passing through a phase of

rapid transition, and strenuous assimilation, and the end is not yet.

At the present time, Gambling would appear to be the most popular and menacing vice in our Western civilization. It is certainly on the increase, as our British legislators are aware; and it threatens to sap the foundations of good sportsmanship, sound business methods and the ideals of Christian stewardship in the possession and use of money. The Roman Church cannot but be aware of this great moral danger, and yet it seems not only to be unwilling to denounce the vice, but its representatives appear to be ready on occasions to encourage it.

Judgments of the comparative morality or immorality of different Christian denominations are not of a very reliable character when based upon the criminal statistics of different communities or nationalities. Mark Twain's travelling companion, Harris, declared that he could always tell whether he was in a Protestant or Romanist Canton in

Switzerland by the state of the roads, and others would undertake to do it by a comparison of the criminal statistics of the respective Cantons. But these judgments lack security. The difference in the quality of the roads of Swiss Cantons may have been due to the difference of geology, and not at all to the difference of the theology, of those Cantons.

Criminal statistics are dependent upon the character of the laws, the efficiency of the police, and the methods of administering justice, as they exist in different communities. The religious factor may enter, and indeed does enter, into the creation of these statistics, but in the case of different communities it is almost impossible to determine to what extent this different religious factor is responsible for the differences in the criminal statistics.

In the case, however, of the criminal statistics compiled in an area where the laws, police efficiency, administration of justice, are the same, it is possible to

estimate the moral influence of particular religions upon the inhabitants. Such statistics of an up-to-date character are not at all easy to secure, and in Great Britain the difficulty is all the greater because of the objection which exists, mainly on the part of nonconformists, to the taking of a religious census. Nevertheless, such criminal statistics as do exist would seem to indicate a higher criminality on the part of Roman Catholics than of other Christian denominations in this land. Such a conclusion is also supported by the criminal statistics of the British dominions.[1]

[1] We append the New Zealand Criminal Statistics for 1930, which are typical.

PRISONERS.—RELIGIONS.

	M.	F.
Church of England	1,141	62
Roman Catholic	826	62
Presbyterian	425	23
Methodist	67	3
Others	245	10
Totals	2,704	160

Of the total population of 1,344,469, 553,993 were

My purpose in referring to these statistics is simply to indicate the absurdity of those who could claim for the Church of Rome a moral pre-eminence over the Church of England or any other Reformed church. And in this connection it is important to stress a fact of undoubted moral significance, that is, that the Church of Rome appears to be always at her best when she is existing in non-Roman Catholic countries. The desire to equal, if not to surpass, the moral standards of

returned as members of the Church of England, and 173,364 as Roman Catholics; that is to say there were more than three times the number of members of the Church of England as there were Roman Catholics; the Church of England prisoners numbered 1,203 and therefore the number of Catholic prisoners should have been about 401, but as a matter of fact they number 888! There are, therefore, more than twice as many Roman Catholic prisoners in proportion to the total number of their religion as there should have been had their criminality been no greater than that of the Church of England. But it is, of course, well known, that unless a prisoner has a very definite religion he is classed as Church of England, so that actually the number of prisoners entered as Church of England is higher than it should be, and the total criminality of Roman Catholics in proportion to their total number is more than double that of any other sect recorded.—*Birth Control News*, October, 1932.

the Reformed churches shows her morally at her highest. This indicates that if Roman Catholicism became universal it would lead to a lowering of moral standards throughout Christendom. It is not, however, we believe, any supposed superior morality on the part of Rome which is the main attraction to her converts. That main attraction is the authority and precision of the Roman system and teaching. In our modern communities there are a large number who desire greater mental freedom and greater moral freedom than the strong traditionalist dogmatism of the ancient Christian churches either authorizes or permits. These people constitute, we believe, for the most part the more enlightened and adventurous elements in those communities.

There are, on the other hand, a number—we are inclined to think a much smaller number—who desire not freedom, but control. To use Prof. T. H. Huxley's

metaphor, " They desire to be wound up like a clock, if only thereby they may be enabled always to do what is right." The system of the Church of Rome is exactly suited for such temperaments. It is ready to tell the individual precisely what he must believe and what he must do in every department of his life if he wishes to secure eternal salvation. He is not required to speculate or reason, still less to doubt. All that is required of him is to obey. Strong characters can be and are created by discipline of this kind. The perils and the pleasures of " uncharted freedom " are gladly exchanged by them for this ordered life.

This may be the best kind of moral and religious life for the " charcoal burners " : in fact, it is probably the only kind of life for them. It may also be the best kind of moral and religious life for the converted roué and the unbalanced decadent, for it is not only the ordered life, it is also the sheltered life. We may

well question, however, whether it is the highest form of Christian life, into which we think some degree of adventure ought to enter.

St. Paul, who has some claim to be heard with gratitude on this score, suffered much to maintain, both in his teaching and in his practice, that where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. He exhorted his reactionary converts not again to be brought into bondage, since "With freedom did Christ set us free."

If, then, the spirit of freedom is an essential element in the Christian religion, Rome is less than fully Christian, if not actually anti-Christian, in this matter. Should the spirit of freedom, like the spirit of truth, be eliminated from the religion of Christ, that religion will lose the power of progress. The growing point of the Christian Church is to be found in the free activity of the moral and rational and spiritual consciousness of the individual Christian. The

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Church's power of true progress lies in the exercise of that Right of Private Judgment which the Church of Rome has never acknowledged, but which is implicit, nay explicit, in the teaching of the New Testament.

What is needed for Christian progress is not that the individual should be deprived of this right of freedom, but that he should be so enlightened and inspired, so filled with the spirit of rational and moral responsibility, that he will seek to use it for the highest ends. This life of individual freedom and personal responsibility is certainly a much more perilous life, and a much more arduous life, than the ordered and sheltered life of the normal Roman Catholic. And although the percentage of failures connected with the attempt to lead this life of Christian adventure is very large, yet, in the interest of humanity as a whole and in the interest of the future influence of Christian religion upon mankind, it is

essential that this ideal of the Christian religion should be, not simply protected and advocated, but enormously developed. It is plain, however, that, to carry out this programme successfully, it must be combined with a rising standard of education and an adventurous type of social life.

Rome, in religion, stands for the static element, and let it be admitted emphatically that this static element, especially if it stresses the need for continuity of Christian thought and institutions, is of essential value; but this static element is only half of the Christian religion. The other half consists of that dynamic element in the possession and cultivation of which resides the creative factor of the Christian religion and its power to mould the civilization of the future.

What more damning evidence of Roman warfare against intellectual freedom can be found than in the columns of the Roman *Index Expurga-*

torius? That list of condemned books contains all that is most original, most inspiring and most expressive of the profoundest researches and reflections of the human spirit since the Index first came into existence. To that Index have recently been added all the works of the two greatest modern Italian philosophers, Benedetto Croce and Giovanni Gentile. The laborious, conscientious, but misguided compilers of the Index may be aptly apostrophized in Milton's famous line :—

> "Of whom to be dispraised were no small praise."

Another attraction of the Church of Rome is undoubtedly found in her dominant sacramentalism. This is of the most imperious kind. Without the right use of the Sacraments, so Rome teaches, salvation is impossible, and the Sacraments themselves operate with the most unerring adequacy. He who receives the

Sacraments rightly, can have no doubt—indeed, must have no doubt—that he receives the grace of the Sacraments. It is the glory of the Catholic Church, said the late Fr. Bernard Vaughan, that she is delivering the goods all the while, and he added with an equal assurance that she alone had the goods to deliver.

There is something extraordinarily attractive and extraordinarily comforting in this assurance. John Henry Newman felt that attraction long before he entered the Church of Rome, as he testifies in that oft-quoted phrase from the *Lyra Apostolica*:—

"O that thy creed were sound,
For thou dost soothe the heart, thou Church of Rome."

The difficulty with which the modern-minded man is faced who knows something of the history of primitive religions, on the one hand, and of the critical study of the Gospels, on the other, is to find any sound basis for this extreme

and materialistic sacramentalism in the religion of Christ. Undoubtedly this kind of materialist sacramentalism, for those who can believe in it, does bring God very near to man, and man very near to God. But we cannot forbear questioning whether it is very good for man that he should be brought near to God in this way, or whether it is in accordance with the mind of God that he should. The contact of man with God through the agency of a materialist sacramentalism has undoubtedly been one of the stages in the evolution of religion, and a necessary stage in that evolution—we may doubt whether primitive men could have had any religion without it; but we are faced with the needs of modern men and women, and it is clear that however comfortable this kind of materialistic sacramental religion may be for savages, it is impossible for the vast majority of those who are not such, and not only impossible, but, we believe, undesirable, in the

interests of their moral and spiritual development.

We are sure that modern-minded men have no desire to see any deprived of this kind of religion for whom it is a necessity, but they cannot sympathize with the policy of a powerful branch of the Christian Church which insists upon this sub-Christian materialist sacramentalism as the essential and dominant element in the Christian religion and which demands that all who would be Christians must share in it. We have in the noble lives and disinterested philanthropic service of the Society of Friends a standing testimony to the ability of a Christian community to reach an extremely high level of moral and spiritual life without sacraments.

On the other hand, the mystical, symbolical, and dramatic use of Sacraments when entirely divorced from superstitious materialistic and idolatrous accretions can and does serve a most valuable purpose in an essentially moral,

rational and spiritual religion, by making an appeal to the emotional and imaginative and æsthetic sides of our nature.

Closely connected with the attraction of this materialistic sacramentalism of the Roman Church is the emotional supernaturalism of its worship. Of this Alfred Fawkes wrote in his later Anglican days :—

> "The Church of Rome has been more successful in preserving the sense of the supernatural among its adherents than the Reformed Churches. But this success has been bought at a prohibitive price. For Catholicism has 'made a calf in Horeb': by bringing the supernatural down to the level of the vulgar it has alienated at once the intelligence of the few and the common sense of the many. It appeals to the imagination, the emotions, the vague hopes and fears which throng the ante-chamber of consciousness: it does not appeal to conviction, to conscience, to reason. Hence intellectual and moral shipwreck—the two are inseparable." [1]

Rome undoubtedly secures converts by

[1] *The Church a Necessary Evil*, by the late Alfred Fawkes (Basil Blackwell, Oxford).

her materialistic sacramentalism and crude supernaturalism, but how many does she lose from her own communion as the result of them? And these men and women are lost, alas! not simply to Romanism, but to Christianity itself. A vast multitude, they augment the ever-increasing ranks of the agnostics and the secularists. For the most part it is the misfortune of the Protestant religious world that its ecclesiastical sectarianism, its Biblical fundamentalism, its out-of-date doctrinal scholasticism, its neglect of the æsthetic aspect of Divine worship, preclude its being able to provide a spiritual home for men and women who have felt compelled to leave Rome; and until the so-called Reformed Churches can achieve a second Reformation which will have the effect of purging, enlightening, uplifting and uniting them, there is little hope that the refugees from Rome can be attracted to their fellowship.

But it is not the lure of Rome, influen-

tial and many-sided as it is, which alone accounts for her position in the modern world. Alfred Fawkes, when speaking of the idealism of converts who believed they had found in Rome the city of their dreams, used to say, "They do not understand. Rome is a very business-like affair." Ever since the Council of Trent and the rise of the Jesuits, organization, efficiency, discipline, have contributed much to her recovery. Bagehot, in his *Casting of Nets*, shows how Rome uses social prestige to secure converts, but this is only one aspect of her propaganda. To-day her skilful and increasing use of the press for window-dressing, in which she is an adept, is another important factor. The diplomatic skill exerted in the sphere of national and international politics is no less notable.

In Rome's policy and practice, we see the supernatural combined with the mundane, the spiritual combined with the mercantile, the ideal combined with the

financial, the religious combined with the political. And in the world of affairs, as on the chess-board, it is not single unsupported efforts, but combinations which achieve success.

The following significant notification was published in *The Times* of May 21, 1934, under the heading "Guarding Faith and Morals."

"A proposal to establish a National Board of Catholic Action, to secure concerted action by Roman Catholic societies in matters affecting Roman Catholic faith and morals, was announced in a joint pastoral letter appointed to be read in churches and chapels yesterday, and signed by Cardinal Bourne and the Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of England and Wales. . . .

Objects of the Board.

"Under ecclesiastical control and guidance Catholic Action will be directed to watching the Press and broadcast utterances for misrepresentations with regard to Catholic faith and practice: it will sedulously safeguard the interests of Catholic schools in the face of threatened inimical legislation: it will defend the principles of Catholic morality

against the insidious propaganda of the new paganism: it will strive to secure for Catholics adequate representation on public bodies: it will aim at co-ordinating and intensifying all the means hitherto employed to bring the knowledge of our Holy Faith to the minds of our fellow-countrymen, both by the spoken and the written word.

"The pastoral letter adds:—

"'The primary object of the national board as we envisage it will be to unite the Catholics of the country of every political shade of opinion and of every social grade, under the immediate direction of their own ordinaries, in common action for the common cause of Catholic faith and morals. There is need of some such comprehensive organization if the influence of the Catholic body in England is to be exercised to the full on the many vital questions which in these days affect Catholic interests. And this indeed may be achieved by the establishment of diocesan units acting in close concert under the direction of the national board while retaining their diocesan integrity. If the numerous Catholic societies which exist in this country be linked in this way in corporate unity we shall have a powerful organization for moulding public opinion and for asserting and defending our Catholic rights.'"

CHAPTER XI

DOCTRINAL ACCRETIONS

WE have dealt little with the theology of the Holy Roman Church, partly because modern readers quickly weary of theological discussions, and partly because to deal adequately with the Romanist theology would take very much more space than we can afford here. The desire of people of modern mind is for a very simple theology which shall be as true as it is simple.

The modern man is not satisfied when he is told that in asking for a simple theology he is asking for an impossibility. He retorts, " Perhaps I meant religion when I said theology, but my point is this: I do not think that we Christians to-day ought to be required, if we are to be Christians, to accept as true more than

Christ Himself taught in the Gospels. Those great truths about God and man and duty which He taught there are surely, if we accept them and obey them, sufficient to secure our salvation and that of all mankind. So far as I can see, nearly every addition which, in the way of doctrine, the Church has made to the teaching of Christ, is both less credible, and less profitable, than what He taught."

We believe the modern man to be right in this matter, but the theologians, who are largely responsible for the dogmatic formularies of the Christian Church, refuse to pay any attention to his persistent and pathetic demands. They reply that the creation of the Church's theology has been a task of immense difficulty, and has involved disputes which have extended over centuries, before certain dogmas, which are for them the essence of orthodoxy, received their adequate and final formulation.

Yet the Christian Church of these days

might well take a lesson from what befel the Christian Church of the seventh century when an Arabian prophet produced a one-line creed and with it, in some thirty years, deprived the Christian Church of one-third of its adherents. It was Richard Baxter, the Puritan Divine who wrote:—

> "The plague of the Church for above a thousand years has been the enlarging our creed and making more fundamentals than God ever made."

The Reformed Churches have been to blame, and seriously to blame, in the production of complex formularies of belief; but to-day many of them are repenting of the Protestant scholasticism which produced these theologisms, and not long hence we shall find the Reformed Churches silently and in some measure surreptitiously discarding them.

With the Church of Rome, however, there seems to be little prospect of any simplification of her creed. The Roman

doctrinal system is closely knit together, and the discrediting and discarding of a single Article in it might well lead to dire results for the whole system. A church like the Church of England, professing fallibility, may revise its doctrines, and discard many of its formularies, but a church like the Church of Rome, professing infallibility, is prohibited from making such doctrinal adjustments to modern knowledge and modern thought.

Since few who are not Roman Catholics realize the number of doctrines which are required to be held by Roman Catholics as of necessity for salvation, we give here what few ever have the opportunity of seeing, an English translation of what is commonly called *The Creed of Pope Pius IV* (the Profession of the Faith of the Council of Trent).[1] Although this document was promulgated on the 13th of November, 1564, it is of no little im-

[1] The Latin text from which this translation is made may be found in the *Enchiridion Symbolorum* of H. Denziger, etc., ed. 18–20, pp. 346 f.

portance to-day, because all converts to Romanism from the Reformed Churches are compelled by the Papal Decree solemnly to profess this creed.

THE PROFESSION OF THE FAITH OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

(From the Bull of Pope Pius IV. 13th Nov. 1564.)

"I N. believe with steadfast faith and profess all and everything which is contained in the Creed which the Holy Roman Church uses, to wit:—

"I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, And of all things visible and invisible:

"And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, Begotten of his Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God, Begotten, not made, Being of one substance with the Father, By whom all things were made: Who for us men, and for our salvation came down from heaven, And was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, And was made man, And was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate. He suffered and was buried, And the third day he rose again

according to the Scriptures, And ascended into heaven, And sitteth on the right hand of the Father. And he shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead: Whose kingdom shall have no end.

"And I believe in the Holy Ghost, The Lord and giver of life, Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the Prophets. And I believe one Catholick and Apostolick Church. I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins. And I look for the Resurrection of the dead, And the life of the world to come.

"I admit and embrace most steadfastly the Apostolic and Ecclesiastical Traditions and the rest of (*reliquas*) the observances and ordinances of the same Church. And I admit the Sacred Scripture according to that sense which Holy Mother Church held and holds, whose right it is to decide upon the true sense and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, and never will I accept and interpret it (the said Sacred Scriptures) except according to the unanimous agreement of the Fathers.

"I further profess that there are Seven Sacraments of the New Law, truly and properly (*proprie*) instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord and for the salvation of the human race, and although not all are necessary for

each individual (*singulis*), to wit, Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Ordination and Matrimony, yet they all confer grace and of these Baptism, Confirmation, and Ordination, cannot be repeated without sacrilege.

"I receive and admit also the received and approved ceremonies (*ritus*) of the Catholic Church in the solemn administration of all the above named sacraments.

"I embrace and receive all and everything defined and declared concerning Original Sin and Justification in the Sacrosanct Synod of Trent.

"I profess likewise that in the Mass there is offered to God a true, proper (*proprium*), and propitiatory Sacrifice for the living and the dead, and that there is in the most holy sacrament of the eucharist truly, really (*realiter*) and substantially (*substantialiter*) the Body and Blood together with the Soul and Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that there is accomplished (*fieri*) a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the Body, and of the entire substance of the wine into the Blood, which conversion the Catholic Church calls Transubstantiation.

"I confess also that the whole and entire Christ and the true Sacrament is taken in (*sub*) either of the two kinds only (*species*).

"I hold firmly (*constanter*) that there is a Purgatory, and that souls detained there are

helped by the prayers (*suffragiis*) of the faithful, and likewise the Saints who reign together with Christ are to be venerated and invoked, and that they offer prayers to God for us, and that their Relics are to be venerated.

" Steadfastly I assert that the Images of Christ and of the Mother of God (*Deiparae*) forever a Virgin, and also of the other saints, are to be kept and retained, and that to them due honour and veneration should be paid: furthermore that authority to grant Indulgences has been left in the Church by Christ, and I affirm that their use is in the highest degree salutary for the Christian People.

" I acknowledge that the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church is the Mother and Mistress of all churches: and I promise and swear true obedience to the Roman Pontiff, the Successor of Blessed Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and the Vicar of Jesus Christ.

" Furthermore all the rest of the things handed down, defined, and declared by the Sacred Canons and General Councils and especially by the Sacrosanct Synod of Trent [and by the General Vatican Council (20th Jan. 1877)] (particularly those things concerning the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff and his Infallible Guidance (*Magisterium*)), I receive and profess without any doubt whatsoever: and at the same time (*simulque*),

all things to the contrary, and whatsoever heresies have been condemned and rejected and anathematized, by the Church, I likewise condemn, reject, and anathematize.

"This true Catholic Faith, outside which no man can be saved (*salvus*), which I now voluntarily profess and sincerely hold, the same I, the said N., do promise, vow, and swear to retain and confess with the utmost constancy, intact and inviolate (*integram et immaculatam*) until the last breath of life, God helping me, and that I will take care, as much as in me lies, that it is confessed also by my subordinates or those who shall be entrusted to my care, and that it be held, taught, and publicly proclaimed. So may God help me, and these Holy Gospels of God."

In England, converts to Rome from the Reformed Churches make their solemn profession of faith as set forth in the Creed of Pope Pius IV and in the Decrees of the Vatican Council in the following vernacular summary:—[1]

"I, N. N., having before my eyes the Holy Gospels . . . grieve that I have greatly erred . . .

[1] This vernacular summary appears in the *Form for the Reception of a Convert*, edited by Bp. Hedley, O.S.P. (Catholic Truth Society, London, 1918).

"I now enlightened by the grace of God, profess that I believe the Holy, Catholic, Apostolic, Roman Church to be the one true Church . . .

"I firmly believe all the articles that she proposes to my belief . . .

"And especially I profess that I believe:

"One only God in three divine Persons . . .

"The Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation, Passion . . .

"The true, real and substantial presence of the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, . . .

"The seven sacraments . . .

"I also believe in Purgatory . . .

"The primacy, not only of honour, but of jurisdiction, of the Roman Pontiff . . .

"The venerations of the Saints . . .

"The authority of apostolic and ecclesiastical traditions, and of the Holy Scriptures . . .

"And everything else that has been defined and declared by the sacred Canons and by the œcumenical Councils, especially by the Holy Council of Trent, and by the Council of the Vatican.

"With a sincere heart, therefore, and with unfeigned faith, I detest and abjure every error, heresy and sect opposed to the said Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church."

When the gaoler at Philippi asked St.

Paul "What shall I do to be saved?" the Apostle of the Gentiles replied: "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved." When the Chamberlain of Queen Candace, in the Acts of the Apostles, asked Philip, the Deacon, "What doth hinder me to be baptized?" [1] Philip replied, "If thou believest with all thy heart, thou mayest." And he replied "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." [2] This was the earliest creed of the Christian Church.

That in changing circumstances, and in later times, there was need for the expansion of this simple creed, we do not contradict, but that such an overwhelming mass of dogma should be imposed upon a human being as is prescribed by the creed of Pope Pius IV (supplemented by the Decrees of the Vatican Council) as

[1] *Acts* viii. 36.

[2] This very primitive Christian creed, although not in the original text of the Acts, was inserted into it very early. See my book *The Church's Creeds and the Modern Man* (Chapter II).

a preliminary to the convert's admission into the Church, indicates how far that Church has departed from the simplicity which is in Christ.

It was the complaint at the first Council of the Church at Jerusalem as voiced by St. Peter in ever-memorable words :—

> " Now therefore why tempt ye God, that ye should put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear ? " [1]

This surely is what the Church of Rome is doing in making such immense dogmatic demands as of necessity for salvation. The Sage of China, Confucius, used to say, " If any man is willing to be my disciple, I ask him no questions." This seems also to have been the principle of our Saviour. He required no profession of faith from those who would be His disciples. He required obedience to His invitation " Follow Me."

[1] *Acts* xv. 10.

CHAPTER XII

EPILOGUE

OUR fathers spoke of the Church of Rome as apostate and anti-Christian; we dare not use such terms. No Christian Church is so true to Christ, and His principles and spirit, as to be able without Pharisaism to speak thus of another Church. The charity which bids us hope all things would prompt us to believe that Rome will yet exorcise the spirit of Cæsarism and Paganism, but alas! a study of history clips the wings of charity and hope.

I have felt compelled to say a number of things in condemnation, not of Catholicism, nor of individual Roman Catholics, but of the papal system which has captured, exploited, and tyrannized over Latin Catholicism, and from the clutches

of which the Church of England only escaped in the period of the Tudor Reformation.

Catholic Christians, living in countries where papalism is supreme, have either to accept the papal tyranny, or to become sectarians or secularists. It is not surprising that many who have no love for papalism feel they cannot abandon their Catholicism when it involves the acceptance of either sectarianism or secularism. In England, Catholics are faced with no such depressing alternative. The Church of England is both Christian and Catholic, but not Papalist. She may with all humility say of herself what St. Augustine said of himself, "Christian is my name, but Catholic is my surname."

Rightly does she claim to be the true descendant of the ancient Churches of Christ first planted in this land. Through the centuries she has striven to retain and maintain that ancient Faith and Order unto the present day; but purged of

CORRIGENDUM

Page 192, line 8 from foot.

For St. Augustine *read* St. Pacianus.

papal tyranny, corruptions, superstitions, and perversions at the Reformation.

The notion that the Reformed Church of England was a new creation of Tudor sovereigns and that a new ministry was brought into existence, and the ancient episcopal succession broken, cannot be justified either at the bar of English history or English law, as the late Lord Oxford and Asquith, who was not a member of the Church of England, admitted. A detailed refutation of this notion may be read in the English Archbishops' reply to the Papal Bull, *Apostolicæ Curæ*, which had declared the invalidity of English orders.

Englishmen who prefer the Catholic type of Christianity, although they would not deny that there are other types of Christianity which have an equal claim to be regarded as loyal to Christ, are therefore under no obligation whilst living in the broad expanse of the British

Empire to choose Romanism as the best and truest form of Catholicism.

In the English Church, the *ecclesia gentis Anglorum*, as her earliest historian, the Venerable Bede (who died in A.D. 735) styled her, Englishmen have a Christian Catholicism: freed from papal tyranny and purged from mediæval superstition. Undoubtedly, the English Book of Common Prayer is the best exponent of our native Catholicism: it is also enshrined in the verse of George Herbert and John Keble, and is justified at the bar of reason and history in Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, in Jewell's *Apology*, Gibson's *Preservative*, and many another learned volume; but, last and not least, it is presented in Shorthouse's novel, *John Inglesant*, in the concluding chapter (xxxix) of which Shorthouse states in a dialogue the fundamental issue between English Catholicism and Roman Catholicism. In a reply to a question as to whether he preferred the

Romish religion to the English he opens thus :—

> " This is the supreme quarrel of all. . . . This is not a dispute between sects and kingdoms : it is a conflict within a man's own nature, nay, between the noblest parts of man's nature arrayed against each other. On the one side obedience and faith, on the other, freedom and reason. What can come of such a conflict as this but throes and agony ? "

Mr. Inglesant then proceeds to explain that the Romish ethics are based upon Aristotle, all whose ethics are subordinated to an end

> " and in such a system they [Romanists] see a weapon which they can turn to their own purpose of maintaining dogma, no matter at what sacrifice of the individual conscience or reason. This is what the Church of Rome has ever done. She has traded upon the highest instincts of humanity, upon its faith and love, its passionate remorse, its self-abnegation and denial, its imagination and yearning after the unseen. It has based its system upon the profoundest truths, and upon this platform it has raised a power which has, whether foreseen by its authors

or not, played the part of human tyranny, greed, and cruelty. To support this system it has habitually set itself to suppress knowledge and freedom of thought, before thought had taught itself to grapple with religious subjects, because it foresaw that this would follow. It has, therefore, for the sake of preserving intact its dogma, risked the growth and welfare of humanity, and has, in the eyes of all except those who value this dogma above all other things, constituted itself the enemy of the human race."

Mr. Inglesant then compares this system with that of the Church of England in

"which the devotional instincts of human nature are enabled to exist side by side with the rational. . . . Thanks to circumstances which the founders of our Church did not contemplate, the way is open: it is barred by no confession, no human priest. Shall we throw this aside? It has been won for us by the death and torture of men like ourselves in bodily frame, infinitely superior to some of us in self-denial and endurance. . . . It is not even a question of religious freedom only: it is a question of learning and culture in every form . . . nevertheless, as a Church it is unique: if suffered to drop out of existence, nothing like it can

> ever take its place. . . . Terror and superstition are the invariable enemies of culture and progress. They are used as rods and bogies to frighten the ignorant and the base, but they depress all mankind to the same level of abject slavery."

We make no claim here for the perfection or the infallibility of the Church of England. She knows nothing of such claims on her behalf. Edmund Burke declared that one of her marks was that she is a church professing fallibility. She believes in the pursuit of Divine Truth under the leadership of the Divine Spirit, but, like the Apostle of the Gentiles, she would confess :—

> "Not that I have already attained, or am already made perfect." [1]

She believes in the continuity of Christian thought; she maintains the continuity of Catholic institutions adapted to modern needs; but whilst she reverences the past, she no less reverences the present, which has its inspirations and

[1] *Phil.* iii. 12.

revelations to which she feels bound to give heed. Believing in the unity of Christian faith, she feels no compulsion to believe in the uniformity of Christian dogma. Believing in a comprehensiveness in which the apprehension of Christian truth and its exposition are varied, she feels only concerned to promote a spirit of freedom, truth and love within the fellowship. This is the ideal of that reformed and free Catholicism to which the Church of England seeks to attain.

If she be loyal to this ideal in a world of increasing knowledge and of rising intelligence, she has the future with her. George Tyrrell, the Jesuit, after his many years' experience of the Roman communion wrote :—

> "The position I have come to these last years is . . . one which an Anglican can hold honestly, but what a Romanist holds only by an equivocation. Any other sect ties you to a spot—Anglicanism gives you a wide range."

There are some who will not feel that they need this freedom of thought and speech on moral and spiritual questions, and there are others who will feel that they can best secure it by remaining outside all Christian churches, but Englishmen who cannot endure the Roman tyranny, and yet are attracted by Catholic Christianity, have no need to go beyond the English Church to find their spiritual home.

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